The Shakespeare File: Charlton Heston v. Joe Sobran

NATIONAL REVIEW

DO THE RIOT THING?

ELECT THE FED?
Andrew Coyne

BEETHOVEN AS THE FIRST MODERN ARTIST
Paul Johnson

GARBAGE IN GARBAGE OUT
What Robert Gates Needs to Know About the CIA
Nicholas Eberstadt

Plus
SPRING BOOKS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photo: Reuters/Bettmann

Nuclear-generated electricity saves more oil each day than we used to import from Iraq and Kuwait.

With more than 100 operating nuclear plants in this country, nuclear electricity cuts U.S. oil imports by 740,000 barrels every day. That's more than the oil we imported from Iraq and Kuwait before hostilities broke out last August.

Nuclear energy is a major reason why electric utilities here burn much less oil than they used to. In 1973, 17% of America's electricity came from oil, while only 4% came from nuclear. Today, oil provides 4%; nuclear energy generates over 20%.

But America still imports about half the oil it consumes—the equivalent of four huge supertankers of foreign oil every day.

We need more nuclear plants—to meet America's growing electricity demand, and to bolster our independence from dangerously unstable energy sources.

For more information, write to the U.S. Council for Energy Awareness, P.O. Box 66080, Dept. ST18, Washington, D.C. 20035.

Nuclear energy means more energy independence.

MAY 2 8
© 1991 USCEA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

JUNE 10, 1991 VOL. XLIII, NO. 10

Cover Story

23 ***Elect the Fed?***
The Federal Reserve is supposed to be independent of politicians and accountable, in the long run, to the people. Since it's neither, the result is inflation and popular mistrust. There's only one way, says **Andrew Coyne**, to give the Fed the political power and popular support it needs to do its job.

Articles

16 ***On the Scene***
Will Carol Iannone be Borked by the Modern Language Association? **William McGurn** assesses the strength of the Congressional Deconstructionist Caucus. . . . **Anthony Daniels** wanders through the ruins of Liberia. . . . After surveying the leading Democratic moderates on display in Cleveland, **Richard Brookhiser** finds Jesse Jackson looking more appealing. . . . **David Pesci** presents a winning candidate for '92, from the center of the Democratic Party.

30 ***A Long Hot Summer?***
Will 1991 see the return of urban riots? You bet, says **Eugene H. Methvin**—if the authorities try to turn the other cheek.

31 ***Where Did the CIA Go Wrong?***
For decades, the CIA has given a rosy view of the Soviet economy. **Nicholas Eberstadt** points out why it should have known better, and the consequences of its mistakes.

34 ***Touch Swords***
Charlton Heston finds no method in this Earl of Oxford madness. . . . **Joe Sobran** protests: The truth's the thing.

Spring Books

38 **Paul Johnson** looks at how the cult of the visionary artist began with Beethoven. . . . The problem with *Exporting Democracy*, **Ernest Lefever** warns Joshua Muravchik, is that the product doesn't travel well, comes without instructions for assembly, and rarely performs as advertised. . . . **James H. Andrews**'s favorite aspect of *The Litigation Explosion*, Walter K. Olson's tale of how the legal industry has run amok, is the "invisible fist" theory of justice. . . . **Geoffrey Morris** compares the education-reform diagnoses of a teacher, a policy flack, and a philosopher. . . . In *Feminism without Illusions*, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese blames feminism's failings on individualism; **Thomas Mallon** deems her lost in her university crowd. . . . **Jeffrey Hart** finds Jeffrey Meyers's latest book to be a splendid look at Joseph Conrad the man, but weak on Joseph Conrad the writer. . . . **Don Feder** admires Alan M. Dershowitz's *Chutzpah* but wonders if the super-lawyer is fighting his real enemies. . . . **Wick Allison** praises the producers of *The Classic Guide to Fly-Fishing for Trout* for bringing out a book as beautiful as the sport.

Sections

2 ***Letters***
4 ***From the Editor***
6 ***On the Record***
8 ***The Week***
36 help
51 ***Trans-O-Gram***
54 ***On the Right***
56 ***Off the Record***

Cover illustration by Alan Nahigian

The Audit Bureau

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January and one issue in March, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 1991. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P.O. Box 96639, Washington, D.C. 20077-7471; phone, 800-222-6806, Monday–Friday, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330.

RATES: $57.00 a year (24 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Right to Rights

We strongly agree with Ernest van den Haag when he asserts that sodomy laws are silly and the public should oppose such prohibitions ["Sodom and Begorrah," April 29]. We were also pleased to read his suggestion that the military's exclusion of gays should be ended.

There are, however, other points with which we disagree.

He states that to legally protect gays and lesbians from private discrimination is unnecessary—and even harmful. Certainly, it could not be harmful. Without the legal protection against private discrimination, gays and lesbians can be fired from their jobs or evicted from their apartments for merely being gay. We can be denied credit and insurance for the same "reason." If the law protects the fundamental civil liberties of American citizens by barring irrational discrimination based on race, creed, gender, national origin, and disability, it should also bar irrational discrimination based on sexual orientation.

The author also claims that college social organizations should be allowed to exclude gays and lesbians, and gay/lesbian clubs should not be subsidized by the colleges. But student organizations are supposed to represent the diversity of the student population.

He says it seems silly to make one's sexual interest so central to one's life. Since when does being involved in the chess club, debating club, or gay and lesbian union make those activities "one's main interest in life"? And even if it is, what's wrong with that? A gay person sees discrimination, hatred, and violence and may wish to be in a gay support group. Or maybe he or she simply wishes to socialize with other gay people.

The author goes so far as to claim that others' respect is the "not-so-hidden" agenda of our marches. If they have that unintended effect, that's great! But that may be a long time off. So for now, we march for vital legal protections safeguarding our lives and livelihoods—and for the respect of ourselves.

Richard J. Dalton Jr.
Media Committee
GLAAD
New York, N.Y.

I am pleased that Mr. Dalton agrees with some of my views. As to the disagreements:

1. Homosexuals hold good jobs, live throughout the city (no ghettos), make normal incomes, etc. There is no need to protect them against discrimination. They should have the same protection that we all should have against irrational acts.

2. Unlike Mr. Dalton I do not believe that any social organization must "represent diversity": if left-handed students want a club excluding right-handed ones, good luck. People are entitled to be foolish. But the colleges should subsidize only clubs devoted to learning; in these subsidized clubs no discrimination should be tolerated.

3. My own view is that it is foolish to make sexual inclinations the basis for one's social life. One joins a chess or debating club to play chess or debate—quite a different thing from joining a club because one is a homosexual.

4. There is no more reason for homosexuals to march in an Irish parade as a distinct group than there is for Baptists. Respect for homosexuals and their self-respect would increase if they stopped claiming special rights and making an issue of their presence and their sexual activities on every occasion. —EVDH

Neo-Whizzes

In his article on the relationship between national economic strength and national IQ, Daniel Seligman speaks of East Asian pre-eminence in science and mathematics ["If You're So Smart, How Come You're Not Japanese?" April 15]. Unfortunately for Mr. Seligman's thesis, this pre-eminence is non-existent.

In the period 1950–1989, 243 Nobel Prizes were awarded in the sciences. Fewer than 4 per cent of the laureates were East Asian or of East Asian descent. It would seem that the word "modest" comes much closer to describing this achievement than the word Mr. Seligman uses. And what is true in the sciences is also true in mathematics, where for the past five centuries all the great breakthroughs have been made by non–East Asians.

If, as Mr. Seligman argues, the Oriental IQ is higher than the Caucasian IQ, and if this higher IQ is a sign of superior intelligence, is it not curious that this superiority has become apparent only in the last twenty years, and only in the design and manufacture of high-quality, reasonably priced consumer products?

Robert H. Kantor
Palo Alto, Calif.

The overwhelming evidence for superior IQs among Japanese and other East Asians is hardly overturned by their underrepresentation among Nobel laureates.

For openers, East Asian IQs are (as the article mentioned) less variable than those of Westerners. Because their scores are more bunched around the mean, their higher average IQ is perfectly consistent with a relative shortage of the phenomenal IQs associated with Nobel awards. The case is far from settled, but some scholars believe the Japanese do in fact produce fewer geniuses than we do.

In any case, the awards Mr. Kantor is talking about were given to scholars whose serious work began in the 1940s or earlier, when even supersmart people in the then-impoverished and semi-feudal Pacific Rim societies had few outlets for scientific research. —DS

Question of Firsts

Why have so many media organs stated that the late Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre "caused the first schism in the Catholic Church since 1870" ["The Week," April 19]? The facts are clearly to the contrary.

The Polish National Catholic Church broke away from Rome in 1894. The Aglipayan Church in the Philippines left the Roman church in 1904; now known as the Philippine Independent Catholic Church, it has 3.7 million members. The Catholic Apostolic Church of Brazil declared its independence from Rome in 1946; it has more than 2.1 million members. And the bulk of China's Catholic Church separated itself from Rome after the Communist revolution in that country.

Lefebvre was not even the first post–Vatican II prelate to break away and consecrate traditionalist bishops. Repudiating Vatican II as a spurious council in 1981, South Vietnam's Archbishop Pierre Martin Ngo-Dinh-Thuc—former archbishop of Hué and brother of the late President Diem—consecrated several bishops, in the belief that the new rites of Vatican II were altogether illegitimate and "rejected by God."

William G. Foster
Chicago, Ill.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

END-OF-SEASON SALE. SAVE $50.

THE OFFICIAL MILITARY ISSUE GENUINE LEATHER A-2 FLYING JACKET

ACT NOW!

A piece of American History is ON SALE!

From World War II to Desert Storm, the A-2 Leather Flying Jacket is one of the most famous pieces of battle gear in history. During World War II, the brave pilots of the U.S. Army Air Corps relied on the A-2 for protection and comfort. Today, the A-2 Flying Jacket, updated to current military specs, is worn by some of the bravest men our nation has ever produced: the U.S. Air Force pilots who have spearheaded Operation Desert Storm. Lightweight and comfortable yet "tough as nails," the A-2 identifies its wearer as one of an elite, brave breed of fighting men. And now, for a limited time, you can acquire the A-2 for only $199,* that's $50 off regular price.

Genuine Military Issue.
Not a Commercial Reproduction.

Cooper Sportswear was an original supplier of the A-2's worn by America's World War II flying heroes. Now, after a 45-year retirement from active duty, the U.S. Air Force has recommissioned the A-2 and selected Cooper as *the* official Government contract manufacturer. Now, you can own the *very same* jacket issued to U.S. Air Force pilots. *Not a reproduction and not a look-alike copy — this is the genuine article! Available exclusively from Willabee & Ward.*

Proudly Made in the U.S.A.

The Cooper A-2 is made in the U.S.A. using materials and production methods specified by the U.S. Air Force. Premium hand-stitched goatskin ensures ruggedness and great looks. Knitted cuffs and waistband and a spun cotton-blend lining ensure draft-free comfort. Details include regulation snap-down collar, shoulder epaulets, and roomy snap-close pockets. You'll also receive a certificate of authenticity stating that yours is a U.S. Air Force A-2. Battle-proven and built for long life, the Cooper A-2 actually gets better-looking with age.

MADE IN U.S.A.

Save $50 Off Regular Price.
Payable in Convenient Monthly Installments.

The Cooper A-2 Leather Flying Jacket — normally $249* — can be yours for just $199, payable in five convenient monthly installments of $41.30 charged to your credit card. Your satisfaction is guaranteed. If you are not completely delighted with your jacket, simply return it in original condition within 30 days for exchange or refund. Take advantage of this unprecedented end-of-season sale. Order today. Available in sizes 34-52 regular and long. Call about larger sizes (to 60) available for $50 more.

Accept no substitutes!
This is the actual jacket supplied to the United States Air Force.

(For best fit, order one size larger than your normal jacket size.) Have questions about sizing? Call us — we'll fit you over the phone. Normal delivery on phone orders 4-8 business days.

*Plus $7.50 shipping/handling.

© 1991 MBI

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-331-1858 EXT. 636-192

Willabee & Ward
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, CT 06857

Satisfaction Guaranteed

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-331-1858 EXT. 636-192

Please send me _____ Cooper A-2 Genuine Leather Flying Jacket(s).

Size (Even sizes 34-52): _____ ☐ Regular ☐ Long

Charge each of 5 installments of $41.30** to my credit card.
☐ MasterCard ☐ VISA ☐ Discover ☐ Amer. Express

Credit Card # _____ Exp. Date _____

Name _____ (PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY)

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Signature _____ (All orders subject to acceptance.)

☐ I prefer not to use a credit card and will pay by check. Enclosed is my check for $199 plus $7.50 shipping/handling, a total of $206.50.**

**Applicable sales tax, if any, will be billed with shipment.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

Issue date: June 10, 1991
Print date: May 22, 1991

John O'Sullivan *Editor*
Wick Allison *Publisher*

Senior Editors
William J. Bennett / Richard Brookhiser
Priscilla L. Buckley / Jeffrey Hart
Peter W. Rodman
Linda Bridges *Managing Editor*
Brad Miner *Literary Editor*
William McGurn *Washington Bureau Chief*
Paul Hebert *Art Director*
Mark Cunningham *Article Editor*
Geoffrey Morris *Executive Editor*
Matthew Scully *Assistant Literary Editor*
Radek Sikorski *Roving Correspondent*
Jack Fowler *Congressional Reporter*
Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Tony Savage *Assistant to the Editor-at-Large*
Editorial Associates
G. Allen Randolph / Jane Buckley Smith
Editorial Services
Michael Ashton / Millie Fletcher
Michael A. Watkins
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
John J. Virtes *Librarian*
Ed Rubenstein *Economics Analyst*
Research Assistants
Micheal Flaherty / Russell Jenkins
Contributing Editors
Tom Bethell / Eliot A. Cohen
Brian Crozier / W. H. von Dreele
Nika Hazelton / D. Keith Mano
Richard John Neuhaus / John Simon
Ralph de Toledano / Ernest van den Haag
Timothy J. Wheeler
Joseph Sobran *Critic-at-Large*

Edward A. Capano *Associate Publisher*
Robert F. Sennott Jr. *Advertising Director*
James X. Kilbridge *Chief Financial Officer*
Daniel T. Merritt *Marketing Director*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*
Arthur F. Stetzner *Fund Director*
Virginia L. Bauer *Circulation Director*
Jason Ng *Circulation Manager*
Patricia B. Bozell *Special Projects Editor*
Lisa Nelson *Special Projects Director*
Catherine Moraetis *Assistant to the Publisher*
Business Services
William P. Bolan / Christine W. Heller
Kevin Longstreet / Jerry Pellecchia

Contributors
Aram Bakshian Jr. / David Brudnoy
John Chamberlain / Mona Charen
John R. Coyne Jr. / Dinesh D'Souza
M. Stanton Evans / Frank J. Gaffney Jr.
James Gardner / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Malcolm Hancock
Henry Hazlitt / Charles R. Kesler
James Jackson Kilpatrick / Nicholas King
Jan Lukas / Forrest McDonald
Charles Burton Marshall / Thomas Molnar
Joe Mysak / Gerhart Niemeyer
Michael Novak / Grover Joseph Rees
Alan Reynolds / William F. Rickenbacker
Selden Rodman / William A. Rusher
J. O. Tate / Terry Teachout
S. L. Varnado / Richard Vigilante
Charles Wallen Jr. / Chilton Williamson Jr.
Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*
Richard C. Carpenter *Athens*

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor-at-Large*

FROM THE EDITOR

No Smoke without Mirrors

■ One of the advantages of being a magazine editor, perhaps the chief one, is that important people accept your invitation to lunch. Recently Vladimir Bukovsky, who had just returned from a visit to the Soviet Union, was our guest at *NR*.

Bukovsky lamented that certain Soviet habits of mind, losing ground in Moscow, are beginning to surface in the West. Moments before he was due to board a TWA jet for the U.S. at London's Heathrow airport, a spokesman announced proudly that the transatlantic flight would be non-smoking.

Bukovsky, a chain smoker who had booked an advance seat in the smoking section, protested at this prospect of eight hours of torture—something that even the KGB had never inflicted on him—and switched his ticket to the more easy-going British Airways.

What distressed him far more than the delay, however, was that the passengers, mainly Americans, had *cheered* the prohibition. It reminded him of how Soviet citizens had applauded each loss of liberty.

As a non-smoker, I agree. It is good manners not to blow smoke under the noses of sensitive non-smokers.

But the puritanical determination to make people healthier and more virtuous against their will—which underlies campaigns against smoking and alcohol—is incompatible with both good manners and a wider spirit of liberty. And to cheer a ban on smoking is to turn oneself into an agent of a mild Pecksniffian social oppression.

In Germany, the fascists goosestepped; in America, they jog.

■ The second advantage of being an editor is that important people invite *you* to lunch. I was editorial-page editor of the *New York Post* in 1985 when I received, out of the blue, an invitation to lunch with William Casey at the CIA's Langley headquarters.

We had a modest lunch accompanied, as I recall, by a pink wine from a bottle with a screwtop. Our discussion ranged narrowly over recent allegations about another British "Fifth Man"—was I being discreetly checked out?—and then the Contras. Since we both favored aiding them, the conversation then languished somewhat. What do you ask a spymaster? "Covert operations all going well? . . . Caught any good moles lately?" Or perhaps some light reassuring banter: "Don't overthrow any governments I wouldn't overthrow, ho ho."

Had I then read Nick Eberstadt's article on the CIA's misreading of the Soviet economy, I might have asked why Casey apparently did so little to reform its methods. For there was no improvement in the agency's Soviet analyses during his years of office.

No doubt he realized that his intervention would provoke a massive bureaucratic battle—with Congress and the media denouncing him for forcing the CIA to "doctor" its "research."

But in the light of current Soviet economic performance—even the CIA now predicts "a disaster of historic proportions"—and given their importance during the cold war, the CIA's estimates of the Soviet economy seem a far bigger scandal than Iran–Contra.

■ At least, however, the CIA overestimated the Soviet economy when it was still standing. Here is President Carter today on China's leaders:

"They (and leaders in other socialist countries) point out, correctly, that there is a wide range of human rights, some of which are respected in their countries . . . a decent home, a job, and adequate health care."

Correctly? Even Soviet leaders now admit that these substantive "socialist rights" are myths. Mr. Carter's remarks suggest he has imbibed a leftist view of the world so completely that its concepts have for him an authenticity superior to observable reality.

Imagine how demoralized he would be to learn that the real Soviet currency is cigarettes.

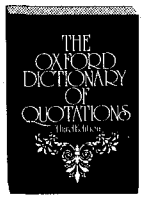
— JOHN O'SULLIVAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

With QPB, There Are No Hidden Costs Or Commitments.

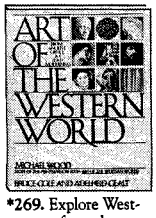
*342. Poet and naturalist Diane Ackerman takes you on an exotic tour of how we hear, smell, taste, touch and see.

Hardcover: $19.95
QPB: $9.95



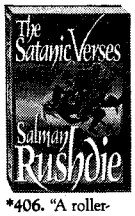
*482. This latest edition of the famous dictionary has 40,000 memorable quotations.

Hardcover: $45
QPB: $18.95



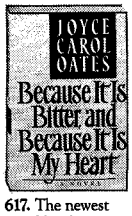
*269. Explore Western art, from the ruins of Greece to the postmodernists. 350 illustrations.

Hardcover: $35
QPB: $15.95



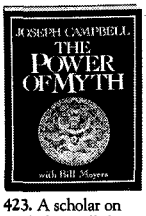
*406. "A roller-coaster ride over a vast landscape of the imagination" —London *Guardian*.

Hardcover: $19.95
QPB: $9.95



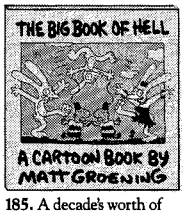
617. The newest novel by this critically acclaimed writer is charged with sexual and racial tension.

Hardcover: $19.95
QPB: $8.95



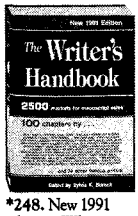
423. A scholar on mythology tells how myths have shaped our lives. A PBS TV series.

Hardcover: $27.50
QPB: $15.95



185. A decade's worth of Life in Hell cartoon strips—by the author of The Simpsons™

QPB: $12.95



*248. New 1991 edition. What to write, how to write it and where to sell it.

Hardcover: $28.95
QPB: $13.95

Harold looked for the small print but couldn't find any. Though he did discover a new strain of bacteria.

3 books, 3 bucks. No commitment. No kidding.

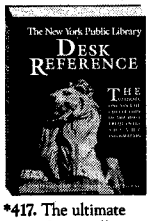
You won't need a magnifying glass to see how great this offer is. Just choose 3 books from this page for only $3, plus shipping and handling, and you never have to buy another book from us again.

As a member, you'll receive the *QPB Review* about every 3½ weeks (15 times a year). It lists our latest book offerings—an unusual selection of softcover books priced up to 60% less than their hardcover counterparts. And every QPB book you buy, after this introductory offer, will earn you Bonus Points that you can trade for free books—you pay just shipping and handling.

So join QPB today. And you'll discover a wide range of great books—and not one bit of small print.

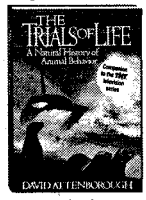
*120. A history of oil, from the drilling of the first well to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

Hardcover: $24.95
QPB: $12.95



*417. The ultimate one-volume collection of the world's most-sought-after information.

Hardcover: $34.95
QPB: $16.95

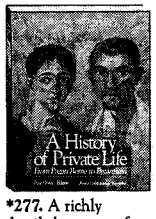


*127. A dazzling study that examines endeavors common to all forms of animal life.

Hardcover: $35
QPB: $14.95

*353. The best-selling biography of Sir Richard Burton, the charismatic Victorian explorer.

Hardcover: $35
QPB: $14.95



*277. A richly detailed account of private life in the eight centuries between Caesar and Charlemagne.

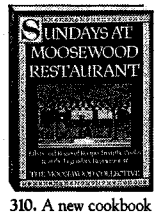
Hardcover: $39.95
QPB: $17.95

*137. The "OED of slang" is filled with fun and educational facts about 20th-century slang words and phrases.

Hardcover: $35
QPB: $16.95

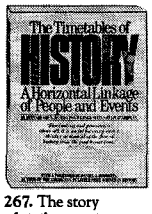
321. Stephen Hawking offers a convincing big picture of the origins of the cosmos.

Hardcover: $18.95
QPB: $8.95



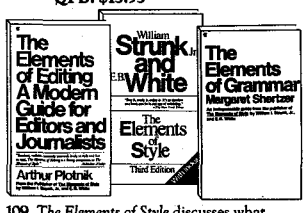
310. A new cookbook from the legendary restaurant, featuring superb vegetarian cookery.

QPB: $15.95



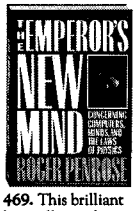
267. The story of civilization in a unique chart format.

Hardcover: $29.95
QPB: $15.95


The Elements of Editing A Modern Guide for Editors and Journalists
Arthur Plotnik
William Strunk, Jr. E.B. White
The Elements of Style
Third Edition
The Elements of Grammar
Margaret Shertzer

109. *The Elements of Style* discusses what good writing is; *The Elements of Grammar* gives the rules to follow; *The Elements of Editing* describes what's said best—and what's best left unsaid.

(3-volume set)
QPB: $10.95



469. This brilliant best seller explores the question: Can computers think?

Hardcover: $24.95
QPB: $10.95

*QPB Exclusive: The only softcover edition now available.

How QPB Membership Works.

Selection: Each *QPB Review* lists a new Selection. If you want it, do nothing—it will be shipped automatically. If you want another book or no book at all, complete the Reply Form always enclosed and return it by the specified date. (A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.)

Return Privilege: If the *QPB Review* is delayed and you receive the Selection without having had 10 days to notify us, you may return it for credit.

Cancellations: You may cancel membership at any time by notifying QPB. We may cancel your membership if you elect not to buy at least one book in any six-month period.

OK. I like what I see. Send me my 3 books for 3 bucks.

Quality Paperback Book Club,® P.O. Box 8804, Camp Hill, PA 17011-8804

Please enroll me in QPB and send me the 3 choices I've listed below, billing me only $1 each, plus shipping and handling charges. I understand that I am not required to buy another book. You will send me the *QPB Review* (if my account is in good standing) for at least six months.

1-16 | | | | *Indicate by number your 3 choices*

QPB Quality Paperback Book Club

Name *(Please print clearly)* QB123-6-2

Address Apt.

City State Zip

Prices are generally higher in Canada. © 1991 Quality Paperback Book Club. All orders subject to approval.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THE RECORD

■ Republicans slipped back another step in Senate with appointment of civil-rights activist **Harris Wofford**, a Democrat, to the late **John Heinz**'s Senate seat by Pennsylvania Gov. **Bob Casey**. But the pols feel GOP can recover that seat come November if Attorney General **Richard Thornburgh**, a popular former governor of Pennsylvania, agrees to run. . . . Surprise Long Marketing poll shows 39 per cent of North Carolinians would be "inclined" to vote for **Elizabeth Dole** should she run against Sen. **Terry Sanford** (D.) next year. Sanford, who will be 75 in 1992, voted against the Gulf War. . . . Latest Democrat to evince interest in 1992 is Iowa's very liberal (ACU 8; ADA 96) Sen. **Tom Harkin**. Harkin will speak at a New Hampshire fundraiser June 5, says "there's a hunger out there—at least among Democrats—for someone to give them a message of hope, a message of getting off their knees and fighting back." . . . Two other Democratic hopefuls are taking opposite tacks on taxes. House Majority Leader **Richard Gephardt** (Mo.) told the Democratic Leadership Council convention that the nation is in a recession and what it needs is a tax cut. . . . Sen. **Al Gore** (Tenn.), on the other hand, is talking about new soak-the-rich taxes: raising top rate to 35 per cent and imposing an 11 per cent surcharge on incomes over $250,000. . . . Rep. **Joseph Kennedy II** boycotted **Queen Elizabeth**'s speech to Congress to protest "the British occupation of Northern Ireland."

■ In Moscow, "Russian Television," an opposition TV channel, is now on the air three times a day for a total of six hours. Its principal evening newscast comes an hour ahead of *Vremya*, the Kremlin's canned nightly show. . . . Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia have refused to make common cause with Moldavia, Georgia, and Armenia, arguing that their claim to independence is on different legal grounds from the others'. . . . Teheran wants Russia's help in training Iranian pilots to operate advanced MiG fighters flown to Iran from Iraq during war. Iraq's calls for a return of the planes have gone unanswered. . . . Rumanian poet **Mircea Dinescu**, looking at his country six months after end of **Ceausescu** regime, mourns: "If I were Japanese . . . I would disembowel myself." . . . Significant shift of power in Arab world shown by election last week of an Egyptian, Foreign Minister **Esmat Abdel-Meguid**, as secretary-general of Arab League. Egypt was booted from League after 1975 Camp David accords.

■ Here and There: The Census Bureau says, on average, one thousand people a day left the ten highest-tax states to establish residence in lower-tax states between 1980 and 1990. . . . Following Gov. **Jim Florio**'s sweeping across-the-board 1990 tax hikes, Polyconomics, **Jude Wanniski**'s economics consulting firm, predicted New Jersey's growth would be 3 per cent lower by 1992 than it would otherwise have been. So far Polyconomics is on the nose. . . . In Pittsburgh, District Judge **Maurice B. Cohill Jr.** has ordered police department to drop a 16-year-old quota system used in hiring new cops. Judge Cohill found no evidence that Pittsburgh's hiring practices had been discriminatory. . . . The U.S. Council for Energy Awareness says nuclear-energy production in 1990 was up some 9 per cent from a year earlier. . . . U.S. Postal Service lost $1.4 billion in first half of fiscal 1991, $281 million of which came as a surprise to postal authorities. That figure resulted from a drop in mail volume following February postal-rate increase.

© Shailo, *Daily Telegraph*, London / Rotheo

"Once upon a time, madam, you borrowed a book from Wadsworth Public Library."

■ Making a Mark: **Dinesh D'Souza**'s widely reviewed *Illiberal Education* made it to *New York Times* best-seller list. (D'Souza is a former editor of *Dartmouth Review*.) . . . Former *NR* Contributing Editor **Walter Olson**'s *The Litigation Explosion* [reviewed by *NR*, p. 42] got first-rate send-off by **Warren Burger** in May 12 *New York Times Book Review*. Olson is with Manhattan Institute. . . . *NR* Director **Neal Freeman**'s new PBS program *TechnoPolitics*, which discusses impact of new technologies in society, is now (in its second month) carried on 162 stations. Check local PBS listings. Host is veteran newscaster **Timothy White** (CBS, Turner Broadcasting, Westinghouse, Worldnet). . . . This year's National Conservative Student Conference in Washington will be held July 21 to 27. Contact Young America's Foundation, National Conservative Student Conference, 110 Elden St., Herndon, Va. 22070, or call **Floyd Brown** at 703-318-9608.

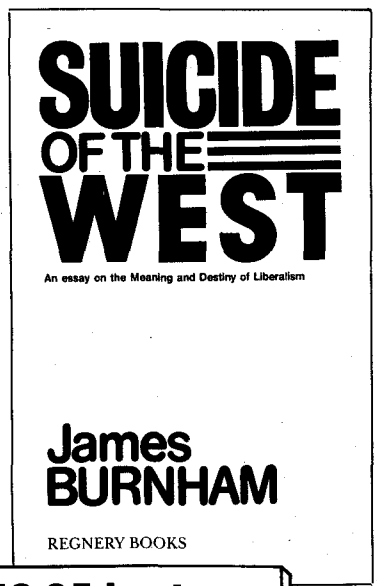
■ Tiresome: Hollywood types continue bellyaching about Persian Gulf war. Actor **Alec Baldwin** calls **George Bush** "a CIA mass murderer." Director **Oliver Stone** says Bush should "shoot himself" because "his soul is dead." Actor and longtime political activist **Kris Kristofferson** calls Bush and his advisors "the party of death [for] murdering innocent babies and children in the name of freedom." . . . To keep pace with leftist entertainers, **L. Brent Bozell III** is turning his six-times-a-year newsletter *TV, etc!* into a monthly.

■ No one, but no one has taken affirmative action more to heart than radical *Guardian*. In looking for a new editor, *Guardian* promises to give preference to "people of color, women, gays, lesbians—and bisexuals." (White male heterosexuals need not apply!)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BACK IN PRINT

— *the modern classic that gives us the most profound (and prophetic) insights into the liberal mind ever put to paper*



$18.95 in stores — yours FREE!

This is the book that dissects liberalism deep down to its rotten core . . . as no book ever has. Thanks to Burnham's insights, we finally see that strange amalgam of selfrighteousness, guilt, arrogance, double standard, good intention, selective indignation, selective compassion and fuzzy logic that forms-the mind and psychology of the liberal. A hint of the riches:

- Why the liberal cannot rule.
- Why liberalism is the ideology of suicide.
- Why liberalism clashes with Christianity.
- The common ancestors of liberalism and Communism.
- Why liberals sneer at patriotism.
- Very precisely: how liberalism lies at the root of race riots, murderous taxes, national surrender and the crime explosion — and why liberals are helpless to do anything about their own follies.
- The inner drives that impel liberals to war on the Right — while giving the Left an ever-so-gentle tap on the wrist, at worst.
- EXTRA! Burnham's fascinating "39 Articles of Liberalism," an intriguing test that you, or anyone, can take to determine your "ideological quotient." You'll be astonished at how accurately it pinpoints anyone's political slant.

If you haven't yet immersed yourself in this classic, prepare for one of the mind-opening experiences of your life.

Important for Christians and Jews

Why do so many religious people follow the siren song of liberalism? James Burnham throws light on corners once dark.

Enthusiasm for this classic, all across the spectrum

"Despite the fact that James Burnham's *Suicide of the West* has not been given the attention it merits, it will find its way and make history. It is brilliantly written, clearly reasoned, and remarkably restrained, given the subject matter: the sickness of Western civilization and its causes."—Irene Corbally Kuhn, *Christian Economics*

"Expounds with corrosive clarity the right-wing case . . . I am sure that the gravest mistake we can commit is to underrate the importance of his attack on liberal thinking and liberalism in government."—R. H. S. Crossman, *Partisan Review*

"If any book may rouse the friends of order, justice and freedom to intelligent action against the grim enemies of civilization, Mr. Burnham has given us just such an instrument."—Russell Kirk

"James Burnham has written a book about Liberalism for which the world has been aching. It is worth more to the West than the year's gross national product, more than all our planes and bombs — with all of these, we have still been losing out in the world. But this book is not only a pathologist's report. It gives the key for the recovery of the West."...—William F. Buckley, Jr.

How to get this mind-opening book FREE

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin, which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing. It will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books will be offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

15 Oakland Avenue • Harrison, NY 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send me, free and postpaid, James Burnham's seminal study of the liberal mind, the $18.95 *Suicide of the West*. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

NR-190

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

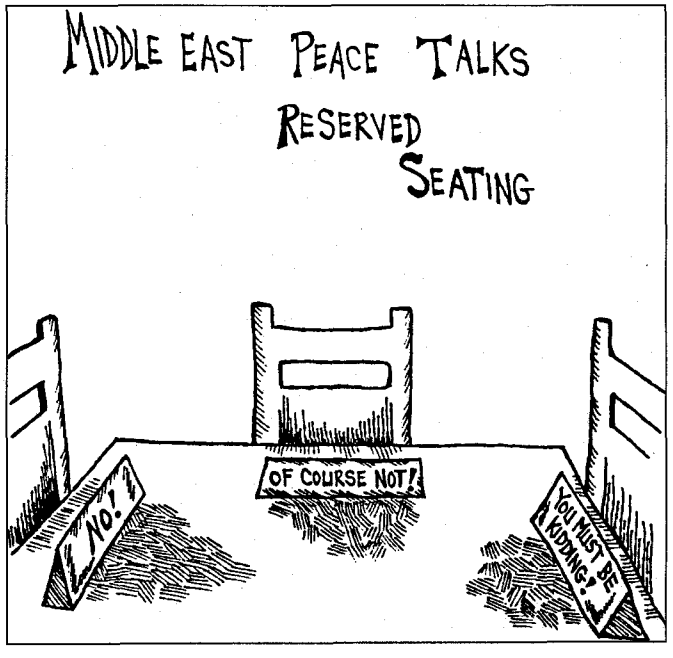
■ The Soviet Union lifted all restrictions on emigration this week. Gorbachev is clearly taking no chances.

■ In what passes for civil rights inside the Beltway, House Democrats just agreed to a compromise quota bill that makes women less equal than blacks, white men less equal than either, and big business happy there's a limit to what it will have to pay. Up to now the big issue has been damages: under existing law, minorities can sue for unlimited damages, and when last year's effort failed, women's groups vowed to gain equal access to such damages (now they are pretty much limited to back pay). Big business blanched at this, and decided it would be glad to exchange quotas for a limit on damages. The result of all this special-interest wrangling is a $150,000 cap on damages for women in the new bill, which House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt hails as "a great leap forward." Later came reports that the Democrats were planning to include language in the bill specifically outlawing its main aim: quotas. But that won't solve the problem that has bedeviled this bill all along—that it makes an informal quota system all but mandatory for any business wanting to defend itself against charges of discrimination—and it doesn't address the practice of counting aptitude test scores of blacks and Hispanics higher than those of whites. (See "Equality through Double Standards," p. 14.) The bigger problem is that any civil-rights bill acceptable to the Democrats and their sundry pressure groups is going to be hard to get by George Bush, stronger today than last year because his veto was vindicated in the November elections. The Constitution lives.

■ A dyslexic Tufts medical student has sued the university on the grounds that its use of multiple-choice exams constitutes discrimination against him on the basis of handicap. The student argues that federal civil-rights laws require the school to accommodate his handicap by using an alternative testing method. As a result of the Americans with Disabilities Act passed by Congress last year, many more of this kind of lawsuit can be expected. The handful of critics of the new law were on target in describing it as the latest in full-employment measures for creative members of Ralph Nader's trial bar. Meanwhile, we are watching for the moment when John Sununu quietly drops the law from his list of George Bush's domestic achievements.

■ Environmental scientist Edward Krug appeared on *60 Minutes* in December to testify that the problem of acid rain is somewhat overblown, and that the EPA has wasted billions by ignoring scientific findings to this effect. The EPA reacted with underhanded fury. Deputy administrator William Rosenberg said Krug "has limited scientific credibility even in the limited area of surface-water acidification." And a bogus "peer review" attacking Krug was widely distributed, damaging Krug's employment prospects. But when columnist Warren Brookes got wind of the episode and notified the EPA of his interest, Krug, who has a PhD in environmental science, received a formal apology from Rosenberg via Federal Express. The funny part—and we admit it isn't very funny—is that Rosenberg isn't even a scientist, merely a bureaucrat. But Krug had questioned an Official Truth, and his experience is an object lesson in the dangers of bureaucratized "knowledge."

■ After intense pressure from the banking lobby, a House committee has rejected the Administration's proposed cuts in federal deposit insurance. So for the time being deposit insurance remains an unlimited entitlement: a family of four can insure as much as $1.4 million in a single bank and open accounts in an unlimited number of banks. We hope this setback will renew interest in other, equally important, banking reforms. Recently, Nobel laureate James Tobin urged that deposit insurance be restricted to "narrow banks," which would invest solely in safe assets—Treasury obligations or their equivalent. These banks would be so closely regulated as to "make deposit insurance virtually redundant." Of



Boileau, *Frankfort State Journal* / Rotheo

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No Matter How Many Pieces Of Luggage You Own, We Guarantee You'll Use This Bag The Most.

To Prove It, We'll Bet You $100 in Cash!

Genuine Leather Bag Available for just three Installments of $45.50.

$100 says this is the bag you'll use the most! In fact, we doubt you'll ever travel without it! We're that confident because this new patchwork leather bag by Kluge is a traveler's dream. Here's why we can make this incredible offer...

Amazingly Expandable — Spacious, Convenient.

The new leather bag by Kluge collapses to fit under an airline seat with all you need for an overnight ...yet expands to hold everything for a week-long stay! It's light as any bag you've ever carried...and elegant, too.

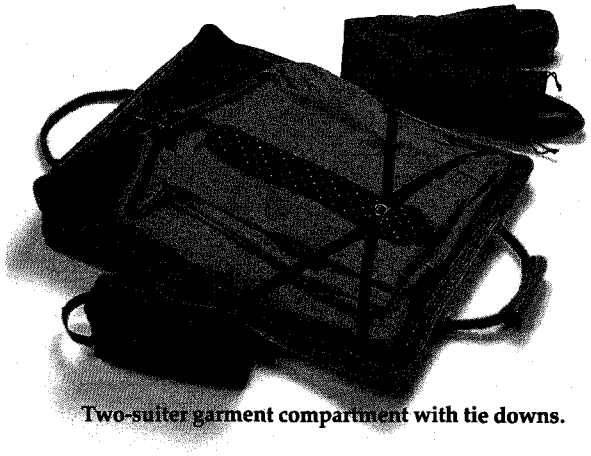
The exclusive new design keeps your shirts from crushing, your suits neatly pressed — all in one good looking, lightweight carry-on bag. Even has separate places for your shoes, dirty laundry, and toiletries. The ingenious expanding compartments let you replace three standard luggage pieces with this amazing new Kluge bag!

Sensational value! Payable in three monthly installments of just $45.50 each!

Our direct-to-you price is just $129. And three monthly payments of only $45.50 can be charged to your credit card. (The total of your payments will be $129 plus $7.50 shipping and handling, or $136.50*.) There are no middlemen. No extra markups. This new Kluge is an exclusive new design available uniquely through this offer.

No Risk Guarantee. Order now!

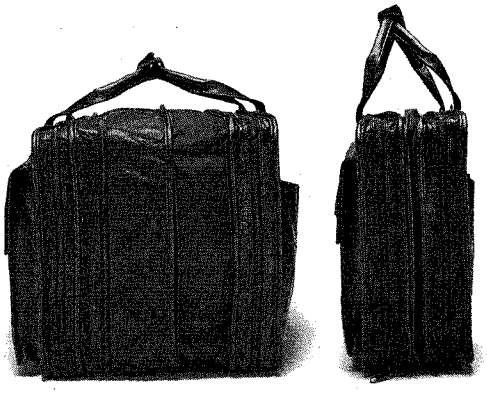
Order now at absolutely no risk. If you're not completely satisfied that the new Kluge is everything we promise, return it within 30 days for a full refund. And if it's not the bag you most use after one year, we'll pay you $100 — and you keep the bag! Just let us know. Order the best bag you'll ever use — today!



Two-suiter garment compartment with tie downs.

Unbeatable Features of This Exclusive Kluge Bag

- **Wide, padded, detachable shoulder strap.**
- **Comfortable, padded carrying grip.**
- **Hardened plastic feet.**
- **Three zippered central compartments.**
- **Long-lasting hardware.**
- **Zippered "secret" compartments.**
- **Easy-to-open outer pouches.**
- **Removable shoes and toiletries bags.**



Ingenious expanding compartments expand for longer trips, collapse to a compact 21" x 13" x 8" for overnights.

By mail send payment of $136.50* to:

LUGGAGE DIRECT
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, Conn. 06857

© 1991 MBI

*Any applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment. All orders subject to acceptance.

Call TOLL-FREE 1-800-765-3456

Orders shipped UPS within two business days.
Need it sooner?
Ask us about delivery by Federal Express.

VISA · AMERICAN EXPRESS · MasterCard · DISCOVER

Extension 927

Please note the extension number to ensure correct service.

(Phone **24 hours** a day– 7 days a week!)

For Customer Service call 1-800-641-8026

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

course, the interest rates offered by such banks would be quite low. High rollers would undoubtedly put considerable sums in non-insured deposits offering much higher yields. But such a system would return deposit insurance to its original intent, which was to protect the savings of unsophisticated people.

■ We will probably never know to what extent the judge in Winnie Mandela's trial was able to banish political considerations from his mind; but fortunately, the one verdict that was politically possible was also juridically plausible. Either a conviction for murder (a capital crime) or an acquittal would have undermined the de Klerk government's attempts to create a new South Africa in this generation, by convincing one group or another that there was no hope for them in the system. By keeping his eye resolutely on the evidence before him, Judge Michael Stegmann found Mrs. Mandela guilty of being an accessory both before and after the fact and sentenced her to up to six years in jail. No one disputes that four young men were beaten—one of them fatally—in Mrs. Mandela's home, by members of her entourage. But Judge Stegmann found enough discrepancies in the survivors' testimony to cast doubt on their vivid accounts of Mrs. Mandela sipping a drink and urging her henchmen on, and then taking a turn with the whip herself. The judge accepted her testimony that she was away from home for two days during the kidnapping, but found it implausible that she did not notice the fate of the abductees for seven more days after her return. "A diligence in ignorance," said Judge Stegmann, "is the equivalent of knowledge." Judge Stegmann's verdict has not got the South African government out of the political minefield: Mr. de Klerk will still have to decide whether, in the interests of being able to deal with Winnie Mandela's husband, he must pardon her. But it showed many black South Africans that a black can get a fair trial in South Africa—even if Coretta Scott King and Jesse Jackson don't believe it.

■ Do patients have a right to know that their doctors have AIDS? The question is an emotional one, fueled both by fear of AIDS and by the generalized anxiety with which many people approach doctors, even healthy ones. Put it this way: Does a doctor sewing up incisions and swabbing wounds have a right to know that the patient under his hands has AIDS? No doctor faithful to his Hippocratic Oath would hesitate to treat an AIDS-infected patient. But any doctor would demand to know this, as well as any other aspect of a patient's medical history. And vice versa? Undoubtedly many patients would refuse to be treated by an AIDS sufferer. But many others, who were assured that proper precautions had been taken, would use an infected doctor, so long as he was known to be a good one. In any case, the choice should be left to the patients.

■ It's been nearly four years since Tawana Brawley and her jive spokesmen—lawyers Alton Maddox and Vernon Mason and the singular Reverend Al Sharpton—cooked up the story that she'd been raped by a gang of white racist cops. The hoax has been exploded, but the story isn't over. One of the accused rapists, Steven Pagones, an assistant district attorney at the time, has sued all four of these rascals for defamation of character. So far, the courts are backing him up. A state supreme court justice has ruled Miss Brawley did indeed intentionally inflict emotional harm on her victim. And the court's appellate division has ruled that Sharpton and his sidekicks must turn over to Pagones any evidence they have in support of their smear. Better run for it, Rev.

■ After six years on the job, Arnaud de Borchgrave has resigned as editor-in-chief of the *Washington Times*. De Borchgrave took over the *Times* at a turbulent moment and kept it that way; low-key he is not. He changed it from a slightly disreputable publication—known around town as "the Moonie paper"—into an aggressive and respected daily that often scooped its great rival, the *Post*, while offering an alternative to the *Post*'s company-town liberalism. De Borchgrave did as much as any man this side of Reagan to change the climate of opinion in Washington. After taking a long vacation, he plans to stay on at the *Times* as editor-at-large. If his successor, managing editor Wesley Pruden, furnishes the expenses, Arnaud will furnish the wars.

■ The Palm Beach story continues to ramble on, but the May 13 edition of the *Boston Globe* rose above all that. Teddy did make the paper's front page: in a six-by-ten-inch photo of himself and son Edward Jr. with family matriarch Rose Kennedy. The caption: "MOTHER'S DAY STROLL—Sen. Edward M. Kennedy and his son, Edward Jr., share a laugh while escorting Rose Kennedy, 100, at their Hyannis Port com-

La Guerre Est Finie

The Syrian troops are embarking;
  Egyptians will probably walk.
The Soviets muddy the waters,
  And Baker grows weary of talk.
King Fahd, in his fashion, keeps smiling;
  Assad says, "The Golan or bust."
While newcomers nest near the Jordan—
  Which Israel's calling a must.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pound." A case of the *Globe* providing America's oldest teenager with some sorely needed damage control? No, says a paper spokesman, it's just that "someone in the photo department thought a shot of Rose would make a good photo for Mother's Day." No, Rose hasn't been seen in public for ages. And no, the clan wasn't told in advance that the photograph was coming. Oh. Guess we just don't know an obvious coincidence when we see one.

■ One little push, please. Headline in the *Indianapolis Star*: "Lawmakers teetering on the brink of inactivity."

Gatesgate

PRESIDENT BUSH has named Robert Gates, currently his deputy for National Security Affairs, to be his new Director of Central Intelligence. While the nominee is expected to be confirmed in the end, opponents are expected to raise a substantial fuss about Gates's involvement (when he was William Casey's deputy director at CIA) in the Iran–Contra affair.

Of senior policy-making figures in the Bush Administration, Gates has the most sober and cold-eyed vision of the Soviet Union. In October 1989, he attempted to give a speech outlining a skeptical vision of the Gorbachev reform program; his draft argued that the profound systemic inadequacies of the Soviet economy and political structure made it highly unlikely that Gorbachev's half-measures would succeed. Secretary of State Baker saw the text and blocked its delivery. (Gates's text circulated thereafter in *samizdat*, like a Solzhenitsyn essay before *glasnost*.) Needless to say, Gates's analysis has been borne out. The Administration, having suffered liberal criticism for the first ten months of its term for its slowness to embrace Gorbachev, went ahead and did so just as the rest of the country was beginning to feel a massive disillusionment with the Great Man's performance.

While the Administration has, ever since then, found it difficult to break away from its seeming commitment to Gorbachev's personal fortunes, Gates has been a consistent voice of caution in the inner councils. He did not change his gloomy assessment of Soviet reforms, reiterating it as recently as May 7 in a speech in Vancouver. He has been pushing the Administration to reach out to others in the USSR whose claims to be forces of reform were beginning to outshine Gorbachev's—in particular the leaders of the Republics, including Boris Yeltsin. No wonder Gorbachev dislikes Gates intensely.

The CIA faces many challenges (see page 31). It will undergo wrenching budget cuts and the need to redefine its role in the post-cold-war world. It will confront congressional schemes to reorganize it and even (if Senator Moynihan is to be taken seriously) to abolish it. The Noriega trial will be a source of embarrassment. A new book on James Angleton, heavily influenced by his detractors, will be a source of another kind of pressure. A strong hand and clear vision will be needed to meet such challenges.

Barring the unlikely discovery of some smoking gun, Gates's "role" in the Iran–Contra business seems of negligible importance. There is nothing substantial in the accusations currently made against him: that he knew more of Mr. Casey's doings than he has let on, or that he should have been quicker to find out, or to blow the whistle, etc. His was a peripheral, if not trivial, involvement.

The die-hards desperate to keep Iran–Contra alive—and those who reject Gates's illusion-free view of the Soviet crisis—should not be permitted to block this badly needed appointment.

Gesture Politics

THE DEBATE over the Brady bill is a classic case of liberal evasiveness—and a rare case of Reaganite loss of nerve. Gun control serves mainly to let liberals avoid tackling crime seriously. But as surely as other liberal policies—endless procedural rights for criminals and restrictions on police—increase crime, gun control won't curb it.

That conclusion emerges incontestably from the research collected in *Firearms and Violence*, edited by Don B. Kates, in which criminologist Gary Kleck subjects the dominant sociological studies of Left and Right to a rigorous statistical analysis, investigating every likely relationship between guns and crimes. He discovers that 1) increased gun ownership does not lead to crime as much as increased crime leads to more gun ownership—a phenomenon made understandable by his discovery that burglars are more likely to be shot by the people they are robbing than to be sent to jail; 2) gun ownership among the law-abiding does not increase crime, even crimes of passion—observations supported by the simultaneous nationwide crime decrease and gun-ownership increase of the Fifties and early Sixties; and 3) increased gun availability for the identifiably violence-prone *does* lead to an increase in crime.

In other words, broadly based gun control is the unilateral disarmament of the law-abiding. It is irrelevant to reducing crime.

At first glance, the current debate on gun control seems to reflect this reality by centering on effective ways of keeping guns out of violent hands. Liberals defeated the NRA-backed Staggers bill in the House by pointing out that its instantaneous screening sys-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tem would take years—and federal money—to get going. That was a fair argument, and the motives of the NRA in supporting such unenforceable legislation seem transparently cynical. But the Brady bill, which the House passed, simply transfers the cost onto equally hard-pressed localities. And since Brady's one-week waiting period is only effective insofar as local police devote resources to the screenings, it would mean pulling officers off the neighborhood streets and thus exacerbating the problem—crime—that it claims to solve.

But the greatest liberal dishonesty here is constitutional. Since we are strict constructionists, we do not argue that the Second Amendment permits private ownership of cruise missiles. Still, it plainly guarantees the right to bear arms, not the right to seek permission to bear arms. And that right should either be decently respected or honestly repealed. If gun-control advocates have confidence in their case, let them campaign for a constitutional amendment.

Meanwhile, where are the usual Bill of Rights watchdogs? Perhaps we need an organization to protect rights that are unpopular with civil-libertarians.

Broken China

TWO YEARS after Tiananmen Square, the President's China policy is a failure. Peking has cracked down on dissent, and just last week cut back on a scholarly exchange with the U.S., now classified as a "hostile" nation. As *NR* goes to press, Mr. Bush faces a serious congressional challenge to renewing China's Most Favored Nation trading status. Ironically, the date of expiration is June 3, the eve of the anniversary of the Tiananmen suppression.

The debate is not clarified by the United States' choosing to categorize those with whom it desires freer trade as "favored," lending moral approval to what should be our standard economic arrangement. Once you get into the sanctions business, you are left with all manner of anomalies: Why favor Peking, for example, and not Moscow? The countries on which we still impose sanctions—Vietnam, Cuba, Ethiopia, North Korea—are the surviving Stalinist holdouts. What is the cause and what the effect? Economic isolation has weakened these countries, but fortified the regimes.

When Administrations brandish MFN as a club, it's usually a sign their diplomatic policy has failed. Mr. Bush is right that opening China to trade will do more for human rights than keeping it closed, not to mention the harm that yanking MFN from China will do to Hong Kong—which we ought to be supporting. It hasn't escaped the notice of China's rulers that it was precisely what came in through the open door with the West (contact with foreigners, fax machines, television) that led to Tiananmen Square. In the pre-open-door days of 1976 they crushed a similar protest without a peep from the West.

President Bush's mistake was not in keeping that door open, but in the unnecessary kowtowing: sending the special Eagleburger–Scowcroft mission to Peking, refusing to meet with students, trying to weasel on guarantees given to Republican senators to protect Chinese students here. True, China did not veto UN support for force in the Gulf: but the likelihood is that we could have got that abstention without the surplus fawning. Getting tough on China is fine. But let's make sure it's Peking we're punishing, not Hong Kong, and not the Chinese people whose oppression we seek to mitigate.

When No Means No

WHETHER William Kennedy Smith is a rapist by the traditional test—was violence or the threat of violence used to obtain sex?—is a question for the Florida courts to decide on evidence still largely confined to police files. But the case has highlighted a new feminist theory of rape which suggests that it afflicts as many as one American woman in two and is generally perpetrated by men known to the victims ("date rape"). This theory's application to the Palm Beach case is tempting; one might almost say Mr. Smith asked for it. The great institutions of the liberal media, notably the *New York Times*, have accordingly been trapped between their instinctive deference to the Kennedy family and this feminist theory which most newspaper staffers have absorbed through the customary process of ideological osmosis.

Perhaps fortunately for the cause of justice, *The Public Interest* has just published a scrupulous analysis by the sociologist Neil Gilbert of this theory and "the phantom epidemic of sexual assault" to which it has led. Professor Gilbert reviews several highly publicized feminist studies which conclude *inter alia* that a quarter of all college women have been the victims of actual or attempted rape and that nearly half of the women in a study—conducted, interestingly, in San Francisco—would be victims of rape or attempted rape at some time in their lives. These studies have been reported nationally, cited at congressional hearings, made justification for public financing of rape crisis and advocacy centers, and generally treated with unskeptical deference.

A closer look at them, however, shows that their definition of rape is both highly original and unacceptably broad. It covers sex after being "overwhelmed by a man's continual arguments and pressure," sex after consuming alcohol, and unwanted

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

efforts by a man to go one step further than the woman, however quickly such efforts were rebuffed and then withdrawn. As Gilbert points out: "Under these definitions . . . the kaleidoscope of intimate discourse—passion, emotional turmoil, entreaties, flirtation, provocation, demureness—must give way to cool-headed contractual sex: 'Will you do it, yes or no? Please sign on the line below.' "

But such definitions are almost timid compared to that of Susan Estrich—herself the victim of a brutal rape—who argues that until women are fully empowered in our society, even their explicit consent is often a fiction. "No" always means "no" on this view, but "yes" may mean "no" as well. Miss Estrich here justifies retrospective withdrawal of consent or, in plainer language, false rape allegations.

Most women—including those most intimately affected—seem not to share this feminist definition of rape. Nearly three-quarters of the co-ed "rape victims" in a study sponsored by *Ms.* magazine did not agree that they had in fact been raped. Fully half of them later engaged in consensual sex with the men who had allegedly "raped" them. And the statistics, even when reasonably corrected for underreporting, suggest the rate of sexual assault is not one woman in two but 113 women in one hundred thousand.

Professor Gilbert indulgently describes the feminist statistics as "advocacy figures" designed for "consciousness-raising" or, as we might put it, lies to deceive and manipulate people. It is an irony that feminists should seek by such methods to popularize an essentially Victorian view of Woman as Victim, beset by rapacious male predators. But it is an irony with potentially damaging social consequences.

By lumping together male–female relationships that do not follow feminist protocols with genuinely assaultive rapes, these studies trivialize real crimes against women committed by real felons. And insofar as the media and the courts take them seriously, they raise the prospect of people serving long prison sentences for what is really seduction or a breach of sexual etiquette deserving that slap in the face that means "no" even more effectively than "no."

Clueless in Gaza

THERE IS good news and bad news coming out of Secretary of State James Baker's Mideast shuttles. The good news is that there is a real opening on the Palestinian issue, due to the discrediting of the PLO and the re-entry of Jordan's King Hussein into the game. For two decades, the United States has always preferred the King to play a key role in Palestinian diplomacy, not only because he is relatively trusted by the Israelis, but also because it was in our strategic interest that moderates like him (rather than the PLO or Syria) be the arbiters or beneficiaries of any Palestinian solution. While the King's behavior in the Gulf War was deplorable to us, his standing among the Palestinians has gone up for the same reason. The Administration was right to reach out to him at this point.

A Jordanian–Palestinian team of some kind may be the answer to the vexing problem of producing an acceptable spokesman for the Palestinians. Such a delegation could negotiate with Israel over elections or autonomy or other schemes for power-sharing—a concept that the Likud government has at least said it was prepared to negotiate over.

This opening remains, and progress was made, despite Baker's apparent failure to convene an international conference. This is where the bad news comes in: the Administration's pursuit of such a conference was a mistake, and has worked at cross purposes with its endeavors on the Palestinian front. The trick in Middle East diplomacy has always been to separate the various problems in order to shield those who want to move forward from intimidation by those who do not. Thus, multilateralizing the diplomacy is a mistake because it invites in all the kibitzers, troublemakers, and hangers-on whose motives run counter to ours.

The Syrians, for instance, have always wanted a big conference in order to have a veto over any Arab party that might want to make peace. Our pursuit of a conference has put them in a better position to block everything; already King Hussein is stressing his inability to make a move without Syrian approval. To be sure, Syria has a certain blocking ability regardless; a conference, instead of being a solution to this problem, magnifies it.

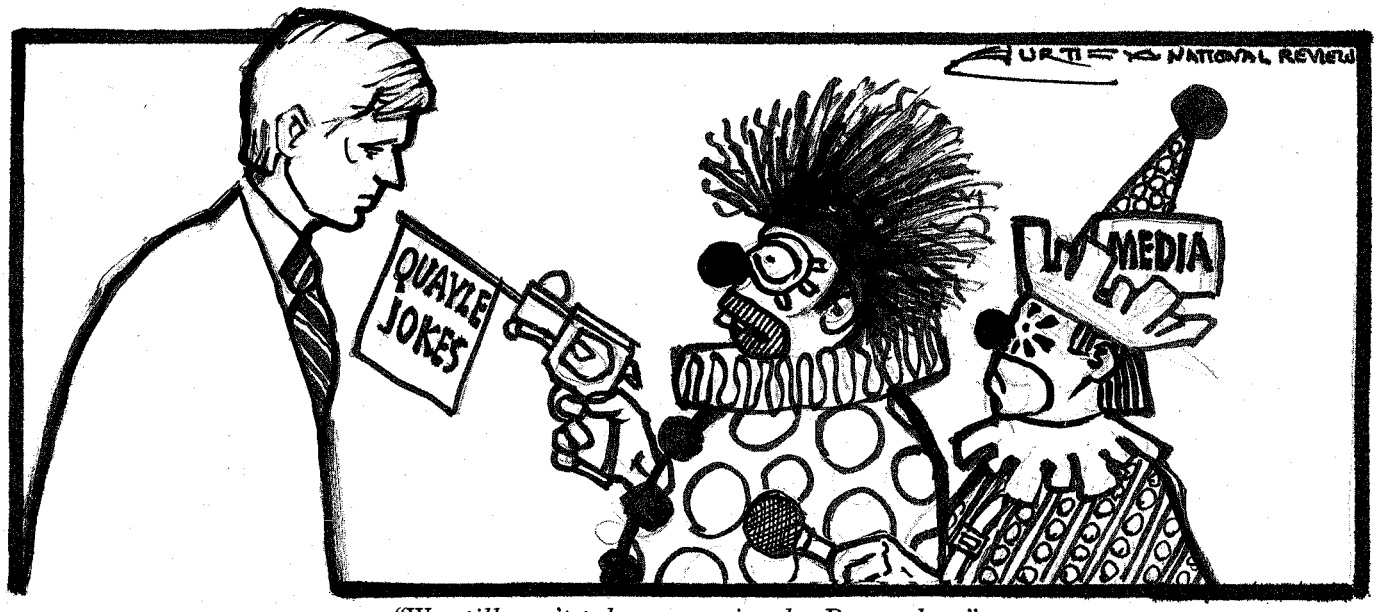
If a conference were to take place, we would also regret our eagerness to restore the Soviet role in the Mideast. The Soviets have no leverage over the Syrians and can't deliver anybody even if they wanted to. But almost certainly they will act as attorney for the Arabs and add their voice to the chorus of pressures on us to beat up Israel. The Israelis oppose such an international conference, and so should we.

The Tsongas Disguise

The Democratic donkey's
  Been donning giant ears,
While elephantine footwear
  Designed to milk the cheers
Goes with a trunk suspended
  Below the creature's neck;
But when it tries to trumpet,
  McGovern hits the deck.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"We still can't take you seriously, Danny boy."

The Administration needs now to focus quietly on the Palestinian issue. Producing a sensible group of Jordanians and Palestinians who are willing to put forward sensible propositions is the best way to persuade Israelis to be sensible in turn. Pressure tactics are far less effective with Israel; they only play into the hands of the Sharons. If the Israelis are to be asked to take risks for peace, their trust in America will be one of the crucial determinants. We need to maintain that trust.

Equality Through Double Standards

A GENERATION ago, New York's Mayor Robert Wagner had the bright idea of providing Spanish literacy tests for those who couldn't read English. "Wonderful!" commented a wag. "And how about *oral* literacy tests for those who can't read and write at all?"

Now Mayor Wagner's inspiration has been surpassed. A new hiring practice is being promoted and defended by the civil-rights lobby: race-norming or, as its advocates prefer to call it, "within-group score conversion." Put in plain English—which itself will no doubt be outlawed under some civil-rights legislation yet to be enacted—this means using different testing standards for minority job applicants.

Race-norming was quietly introduced during the mid 1980s by the Department of Labor in a pilot program. It holds whites and Asians to high performance standards, Hispanics to somewhat lower standards, and blacks to still lower ones, in accordance with the current hierarchy of accredited victimhood. It cannot be openly acknowledged because it wrongs whites and Asians, insults blacks, and does both to Hispanics. The system is nonetheless used by several state employment agencies.

Congressman Henry Hyde has proposed an amendment to the latest civil-rights bill to outlaw the practice. "If they want to abandon testing," he says, "that's one thing. . . . But if you are going to use the test, don't cook the books."

The Democrats are angry with Hyde for putting them over a barrel. They can't defend race-norming, but they don't want to vote against it. They deserve their embarrassment. They have smuggled Jim Crow back into law under a new guise; it's time they paid the price; and they must not be allowed to escape the truth and its consequences by diversionary attacks on the "racism" of their critics.

Philip Burnham, R I P

PHILIP BURNHAM, who died at his home in Tucson, Arizona, last month at age 88, was James Burnham's brother: but more. Philip was once an editor of *Commonweal* magazine, as James was of NATIONAL REVIEW. So they were not public allies. Indeed, Philip was to be remembered at *Commonweal* for his leading role in breaking the Catholic pro-Franco front in American commentary on the Spanish Civil War—a victory some of his later friends would lament. Philip resigned from *Commonweal* in 1949 when he came to believe his increasingly conservative views were at odds with the other editors'.

Philip Burnham was now ready to strike out from the East, and in the early Fifties he became director of the Junipero Serra book shop in the San Francisco Bay area. This work lasted five years—until he was ready, at last, to begin his career.

While James was writing enviable prose for *NR*,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Philip was publishing practically nothing at all. Instead, he began giving himself to friends and strangers as—how else to describe his vocation?—an elegant and intellectually polished Good Samaritan. For instance: there was a time when, every day, he invited two or three Tonoho O'odham Indians to take coffee and food, bringing them in and chatting with them as friends. Or there was his work for thirty years with the Tucson St. Vincent de Paul Society: taking food and himself to the poor. Meanwhile, there was always a bed at his house for travelers like George Shuster, Will Herberg, Anne Fremantle, Dorothy Day, Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn.

Like the Good Samaritan, Philip Burnham did good because the Great Commandment required it—because he *loved* God and Man. —L. Brent Bozell

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I have formed a habit that I would like to tell you about. Like all conservatives, I was extremely disappointed when President Bush broke his pledge not to raise taxes. Now, whenever I get a solicitation from the Republican National Committee asking for a donation, I promptly respond by writing on the card, "Read my lips: No new donations"; then I mail it back to them in their prepaid envelope.

Do you think that this tactic might help President Bush to get the picture?

Sincerely,
Sean O'Mahony
West Hartford, Conn.

Dear Mr. O'Mahony: No, you have got it wrong. Go ahead and send back the card with your comment—and then surprise them by sending money. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I promised you a contribution upon my return from the Persian Gulf theater, and it is so enclosed. Please *do* send me an invitation to the Fortieth Anniversary Party, as my wife and I are already looking forward to it.

The entire experience has made me more thankful of the values you and I share: God, family, country. I discovered how great my strong family was in adversity. I learned the commitment of my wife to me. I relearned the value of prayer. I am more dedicated than ever to the ideals I hold, and more determined to stop our enemies, whether armed with guns in Kuwait or with bills in Congress.

My unit, the Tiger Brigade, fought as a part of the 2nd Marine Division in liberating Kuwait. Enclosed also is a small sample of sand from Free Kuwait. Let there be no doubt of this, the Kuwaiti people mobbed us with affection and gratitude, fully acknowledging our role in their liberation. I've never walked so tall and never felt better about a task well done before.

Let me tell you one last thing. The American soldier performed magnificently. The latest generation of young American men performed in a fashion that their forefathers of Yorktown, Gettysburg, Normandy, and Khe Sahn would be proud of.

Thank you and *all* the staff for your support of my comrades-in-arms and myself. It is not only for ideals we fight, but also for those in our community who bring them to life.

Sincerely,
Kent J. Goff
1st Lt. (p), MI

Dear Lieutenant Goff: We have passed out the Kuwaiti sand, grain by grain to the staff, and families. Your fine supply just met our needs. I have a square centimeter of the Berlin Wall, and hope some day to have a brick from Tiananmen Square. Our best to you, and our compliments. WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

The garbage disposal misfired and left in my mailbox a copy of *Spotlight* magazine, the organ of Liberty Lobby. I was astonished to read there that Joseph Sobran had been a guest (Thursday, May 2) of *Spotlight*'s syndicated program, "Radio Free America," which peddles the usual stuff for which Liberty Lobby is appropriately known by political spelunkers. What goes on?

D. J. Pionzio
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Pionzio: Joe Sobran didn't learn until after he had appeared on the program that it was a creature of those creatures. His views of Liberty Lobby are those of all reasonable and moral men. He regrets having accepted the invitation (made without any reference to the sponsoring organ), and will not again do so. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Don't start a sentence with "and." In the last paragraph of your column I see this, and apparently the *Star-Ledger* proofreader did not. (She sleeps a lot.)

I am beginning to wonder just how good (or bad) your high school was, and how good (or bad) a student you were.

Very truly yours,
David Dearborn Jr.
Elizabeth, N.J.

Dear Mr. Dearborn: Verses 2–26 and 28-31, Chapter I, Genesis, all begin with "And." The King James scholars went to pretty good high schools. Cordially,
—WFB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THE SCENE

Borking the Humanities

WILLIAM McGURN

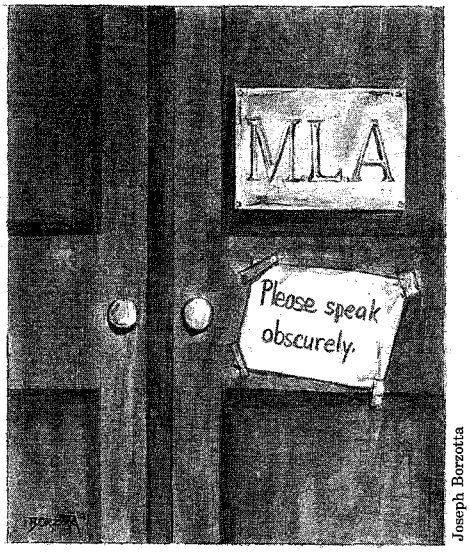
WASHINGTON, D.C.

YOU HAVE TO wonder about the fates. Only a short time ago Carol Iannone was going about her business as a professor at New York University. She was not widely known outside the readership of *Commentary*, *The New Criterion*, and, of course, NATIONAL REVIEW, where she published sharp articles devoted to literature and contemporary culture. These essays are best described by Professor Donald Kagan, dean of Yale College, who says they are characterized by "clear and lively prose, free of jargon and cant."

That's not always the ticket to advancement in academe. But Miss Iannone's demonstrated good judgment must have attracted some attention, because in September she was nominated to serve on the grant-making council for the National Endowment for the Humanities. That nomination transformed her into a casus belli for America's academic mandarins.

First a word about the NEH. The academic twin to the National Endowment for the Arts, the NEH has never been as controversial, if only because its subject matter tends to be less of a minefield than the areas with which the NEA must deal (e.g., contemporary art, dance, and music). Where the NEA is probably best known these days for *Piss Christ,* the NEH can boast of funding the PBS documentary *The Civil War.*

The National Council for the Humanities is the NEH advisory group. Council member Aram Bakshian Jr. describes it as "something of a cross between a board of directors and the House of Lords," i.e., capable of giving important recommendations but without much direct power. When it was set up under the Johnson Administration, it was explicitly not limited to professors, and so among the "public" (non-academic) appointees all Presidents have slipped in friendly contributors. Starting small, the NEH budget ballooned under Nixon in a vain effort to appease the intellectual community, which of course rewarded him with nothing but contempt.



Joseph Borzotta

In the NEH's almost three decades of existence no one can recall a real catfight over a nominee, though there have been the understandable grumbles. What makes Carol Iannone different is that she has become the focus of a concerted attack by a few powerful academic interest groups, led by the thirty-thousand-member Modern Language Association, the American Council of Learned Societies, and PEN. Ostensibly these groups are concerned about Miss Iannone's lack of academic credentials (her career is "not without merit," says MLA Executive Director Phyllis Franklin, but "it is without distinction"). But it's hard to believe that a liberal would have aroused the same opposition. Right now Miss Iannone's nomination rests with the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, chaired by Teddy Kennedy. Although in substance and procedure, her nomination process differs tremendously from that of Robert Bork for the Supreme Court, the smallness and dishonesty of those making the charges against her are a rerun.

"In some ways the attacks are Kafkaesque," says NEH chairman Lynne Cheney. "There is all this talk about 'qualifications.' But what's really going on is a classic case of political correctness. Carol has written an essay about the MLA, and Carol has written an essay about PEN. The question is whether PC is going to extend to the United States Senate."

The main charge against Miss Iannone is that she hasn't written enough for purely academic journals such as publications of the Modern Language Association. Surely this is the first time *The New Criterion* has ever been dismissed as a popular magazine. That aside, the charge is ludicrous on several counts. For one thing, Miss Iannone would be replacing a non-academic member, and in any case the mission of the NEH is precisely to sponsor projects that make the humanities more accessible to the public. For another, some of the MLA's own preferred topics—as gleaned from a *New York Times Magazine* piece on the MLA's recent convention in Chicago—speak for themselves. Among the scholarly papers delivered: "Victorian Underwear and Representations of the Female Body," "Assume the Position: Pluralist Ideology and Gynocriticism," "The Lesbian Phallus," and . . . well, you get the point.

When the competency charge didn't seem to be working out, the opposition was quick to play the racism card. In an April 9 letter to Mrs. Cheney, the president of the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, Joel Conarroe, stated that Miss Iannone "clearly views *all* African-American writers the way the late Paul de Man viewed Jewish writers—as easily dismissed second-raters." Mrs. Cheney decided to ignore this patently foolish letter, as something sent in haste that the author would regret he had sent. But the letter soon surfaced in the newspapers, and the charge, utterly without foundation, is out there to be cited by those

Mr. McGurn is NR*'s Washington bureau chief.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who don't even know whence it came. Mrs. Cheney says she is "appalled" by the accusation, and her correspondence makes clear that she has no intention of backing down.

Indeed, all this attention may have backfired on the MLA and its companions. The goal for these groups is to intimidate the Administration into withdrawing the nomination before going through the process, which effectively would give them a new veto power, like the one the Black Caucus has on civil-rights appointees. But Mrs. Cheney has stuck to her guns, she has the backing of President Bush, and although committee members Paul Wellstone (D., Minn.) and Barbara Mikulski (D., Md.) are just wacky enough to make this a crusade, even Ted Kennedy (with preoccupations of his own these days) has to realize that attacking a perfectly qualified woman for not having enough footnotes does not hold much demagogic potential.

In short, in the unlikely event that Miss Iannone's nomination does become the subject of a public hearing, it's not likely to show the MLA and Co. to advantage. "She's stung the mob," says former NEH chairman William Bennett. "They're losing, they know they're getting beat, and they want to bust things up. They're testing the waters, but it's more a sign of weakness than of strength." □

Heart of Darkness

ANTHONY DANIELS

Janet Hamlin

MONROVIA

I TOOK a slow tugboat, the *Steel Trader*, from the Ivory Coast to Monrovia. Captain Monty Jones, an old West Africa hand, was commanding, and we had on board a Vietnam veteran known as Rambo, who spent his spare time in his cabin polishing his guns in preparation for the pirate attacks he hoped would happen. They didn't, and we steamed peacefully enough into Monrovia harbor.

At the height of the Liberian civil war, the *Steel Trader* was the only vessel that would brave the artillery duels across the harbor to bring food to the starving city. Someone once asked why the Liberians fired so many rounds into the sea. "It's the only thing they can hit," was the answer.

Dr. Daniels's next book, Utopias Elsewhere, *is due out in November from Crown.*

Now peace has returned to Monrovia, but the city has been comprehensively destroyed. The only electricity is supplied by a few private generators; there is no running water, no functioning bank, no post office, no telephone, no garbage collection. Every public institution has been looted, and I met no one who knew where all his or her relatives were.

The destruction was not the result of military action alone: often, the vandals were the so-called freedom-fighters, in the wake of whom civilian looters picked over the ruins. Nor was it casual: it displayed not merely a disregard for property, but a hatred of it, and of civilization itself. In the Centennial Hall, the auditorium in which Liberian presidents are inaugurated, I found a Steinway piano—probably the only such instrument in the country—with its legs cut off and strewn around its body, which was lying on the floor. After Samuel Doe was captured by Field Marshal Brigadier General Prince Y. Johnson and the men of his Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (a video exists of Doe's interrogation, in the course of which his ears are cut off and he is made to eat one of them), the Liberian army, which by then was composed almost entirely of Doe's Krahn tribe, acted on the slogan "No Doe, No Monrovia"—and for once in Africa, a political slogan meant precisely what it said.

The John F. Kennedy Hospital, for example, is now an empty shell. It was built to the highest standards with American aid, but it ceased functioning properly long before the civil war administered the *coup de grâce* (so bad did its reputation become that JFK was said to stand for Just For Killing). It is an eerie experience to wander through a giant institution, with corridors a quarter of a mile long, that is entirely deserted; to wander into a professor's office and find it abandoned like the *Marie Celeste*; to find wards with twisted bed frames but no other equipment, and operating rooms with smashed lamps and damaged operating tables, open to the air because rocket fire has blasted holes in the walls. The maternity ward, refurbished only a few years ago by the Japanese, is now of archaeological interest only.

Had I not been to Monrovia, I should not have believed there were so many ways to destroy vehicles; their abandoned shells litter the streets like an exhibition of avant-garde sculpture. Appalled, fascinated, I followed trails of dried blood on the sidewalk to their sources in dark cellars. In St. Peter's Lutheran Church, where, nine months before, six hundred people had taken refuge, I saw the outlines of bodies in the dried blood on the floor: all six hundred had been killed by the army (Doe is said personally to have taken part in the massacre, arriving in a fabled white car).

As everyone knows, Liberia was founded as a colony for freed American slaves. Independence was achieved in 1847. Descendants of the freed slaves, known as Americo-Liberians, dominated the country for the next 133 years, the True Whig Party ruling for the last 104 of those years. Never more than a few thousands, and always a small minority of the total

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

population of Liberia, the Americo-Liberians unashamedly thought of themselves as the bearers of a superior civilization, a view not much in favor nowadays but which, in the light of what has happened since, is not self-evidently absurd. The first president of Liberia, John Jenkins Roberts, spoke in his inaugural address of lighting the African darkness, and said nothing with which one of the better colonial governors might not have agreed.

The last two Americo-Liberian presidents, William Vacanarat Shadrach Tubman and William R. Tolbert Jr., ruled for 36 years between them, and in that time Liberia underwent unprecedented economic and social development (one has only to read Graham Greene's *Journey without Maps*, written in 1935, to realize the extent of the changes). For the first time, a class of educated indigenous Liberians was created, and they had a hand in the subsequent disaster. Their academic training (they had learnt book, as the West Africans put it) led them to suppose they were men of superior understanding, while in fact it alienated them from Liberian reality and obscured from them things which were perfectly obvious to others. Wishing to purge themselves of their own tribal origins, they denied the power of tribalism. They thought they would construct a prosperous, genuine democracy—the Denmark of West Africa, perhaps—instead of which they provoked a retrogression to a Hobbesian state of nature. As is so often the case with intellectuals, they mistook the not-too-bad for the worst-possible, and in so doing helped to bring the latter about.

Master Sergeant Samuel Kanyon Doe and 16 fellow non-commissioned officers overthrew Tolbert in 1980, killing him brutally and murdering 13 members of his government on the beach in Monrovia. There was great popular rejoicing at Tolbert's downfall; Doe and his companions, who were all young men, formed the "People's Redemption Council" and promised everything from prosperity to justice. Of the original 17 members of the Council, at least 13 are now dead.

The intellectuals, thinking that Doe, being barely literate and far from proficient in English, would be easy to manipulate, joined his government. But Doe used them, rather than the other way round; he grew fat (always a bad sign in a West African leader) and soon forgot the supposed ideals of his coup. He also grew paranoid, accusing those around him of hatching plots, and driving them into exile. Eventually, one of his former associates, General (previously Sergeant) Thomas Quiwonkpa, invaded Liberia from Sierra Leone, trying to overthrow Doe. Quiwonkpa was caught, cut into pieces, and, according to some, eaten on the streets of Monrovia.

Doe retaliated against Quiwonkpa's tribe by having thousands of them massacred. An irreconcilable hatred came to exist between the Krahn and the Gio and Mano.

Into this situation stepped an Americo-Liberian called Charles Taylor, who posed as the friend and liberator of the oppressed. Taylor had been head of Liberian government purchasing in the initial years of Doe's government, and had embezzled so many millions that eventually he had to flee. Not a man to rest on his laurels, he was rumored to have been instrumental in the overthrow and murder of the president of Burkina Faso, Thomas Sankara, in 1987 by the present president, Blaise Campaoré.

Now, Campaoré was married to the stepdaughter of President Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, and she had reason to hate Doe: he had murdered her first husband, who was President Tolbert's son. Thus, two presidents of neighboring states were prepared to encourage Taylor. In addition, Colonel Qaddafi was happy to supply arms for use against Doe, who was friendly with the Israelis.

Taylor's rebellion prospered. His warriors—some of them children who had witnessed the murder of their own parents; some of them bizarrely dressed in bras and blonde wigs—soon reached Monrovia. Doe's army, which until then had done little but retreat, stood and fought when cornered (the Krahn by now justifiably feared genocide), and there was a destructive stalemate. Prince Johnson, originally a subordinate and ally of Taylor's but latterly an enemy, captured Doe by subterfuge and killed him. Everyone hoped the war was over.

A change of rulers, says the Rumanian proverb, is the joy of fools. Taylor wanted nothing less than the presidency, but he was unable to defeat the army of the Krahn. And Taylor, or his organization, proved at least as brutal as Doe. Eventually, fearing the destabilization of the whole region, a group of West African countries, led by Nigeria, the would-be great power of the subcontinent, established a ceasefire and the division of the country between the capital, ruled by the absurdly named Interim Government of National Unity, who travel round their domain in black Mercedeses with the shot-out windows replaced by plastic, and the rest of the country, controlled by Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia.

Everyone in Liberia wants to be president, and the intellectuals are back, unrepentantly jockeying for power. No agreement can be reached with Taylor, whose strategy is to spread the war into the neighboring countries, some of which are in any case on the verge of rebellion.

To the north, Guinea still suffers from the legacy of the great African hero who defied de Gaulle to the last drop of his people's blood, Sékou Touré. And to the west, Sierra Leone, to which many Liberians have fled, is ruled by His Excellency Major General Dr. J. S. Momoh, who has grown fat and rich while there has been no running water or electricity in the capital, Freetown, for five years.

So what is the Liberian civil war about? Freedom and justice, or tribe and Swiss bank account? □

Donkeys on Easter Island

RICHARD BROOKHISER

CLEVELAND has come back, they say, and there are signs of it. But the overall impression is still of an Easter Island of industrialism—a landscape dotted with vast structures, among which Clevelanders wander like natives who retain only legends of their kinship with the builders. Here is where the Democratic Leadership Council held its first national convention.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Even the painfully shy can learn to get "...fame, fortune and beautiful lovers..."

Orig. Pub. $15.95
B&N Price $6.95

Freud stated that "...fame, fortune and beautiful lovers..." are the aspirations of artists. If you're shy, such aspirations are painful fantasies. The shy person is usually convinced that their shyness is an insurmountable obstacle. And as a result, they're condemned to 'lives of quiet desperation'.

Totally wrong. "Help for Shy People" shows you why.

Its author, Gerald M. Phillips (Ph.D., Professor of Speech Communication at Pennsylvania State University and the leading authority on Shyness), explains: "This book is directed at ways to improve your speech communication skills...Generally, shy people lack one or more of three capabilities: (1) the ability to think up appropriate things to say, (2) the ability to say things effectively, and (3) the ability to assess how well they are doing."

The recognition that *shyness stems from a lack of skill rather than a psychological disorder* is critical. Accepting that vital distinction opens the door to the means of dealing and changing the behavior of a shy person.

The book's twelve chapters and 250 pages provide you with a thorough understanding of what's known about shyness is a problem, such as:

- Routine Social Encounters
- Building Friendships
- Work Situations
- Love

The chapters are practical. There are detailed instructions on how to deal with the daily, ordinary instances which invariably hobble the shy person.

The chapters also provide detailed tests and practice outlines by which *you can train yourself* out of being shy. And each chapter provides a relevant list of suggested readings that further buttress your efforts.

Shy people don't have to be told the prohibitive cost–social and economic–of their condition. What nearly all don't realize is that they can, with the kind of assistance offered by "Help for Shy People", change their 'lot'.

Please don't demonstrate any shyness in finding out how to help yourself. Order "Help for Shy People" today at its sale price of just $6.95.

Our Unconditional Guarantee: You must be completely satisfied with every item you order from Barnes & Noble by mail, or you may return it for a full refund.

Barnes & Noble
Booksellers Since 1873

Dept. S502 126 Fifth Ave., NY, NY 10011

Please rush me_____ copies of Shy People (#1421593) at the special price of $6.95 each. With this purchase get a FREE Barnes & Noble Catalog. Please add $1.00 per book for postage and handling, and the appropriate sales tax for CA, CT, MA, MI, MN, NJ, NY & PA.

Name _____

Address _____ Apt.# _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Payment Method (check one)
☐ Check ☐ MasterCard
☐ Visa ☐ American Express

Expiration Date ☐☐☐☐
Month/Year

Credit Card number
☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Signature _____

☐ Without purchase, send $1.00 with coupon for a Barnes & Noble catalog.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The only other time I went to Cleveland, I was with Walter Mondale—exactly the sort of memory the DLC does not wish to awaken. The DLC was founded the year after Mondale's wipe-out, to come up with policies and presidential candidates that would strike voters as more palatable (read: less extreme). In 1988 many of the DLC's supporters rallied behind Al Gore. The group hopes to do a more successful job this time.

By casting its meeting as a convention, the DLC made a bid for centrality. This, it meant to suggest, was no factional caucus, but a preview of the national convention next year. Hence the convention paraphernalia: the state standards, the police bagpipe unit that played on the first morning, the chorus of smiling kids that warbled on the second. Still, there was a papery, Potemkin-village feel to it all. The newspapers buzzed that many of the delegates were lobbyist ringers, an assertion confirmed by the large number of ugly black suits in the hall.

The speakers who addressed the convention denied that the path of Democratic success lay through Republican issues, and they attacked the greed of the Eighties as lustily as Kitty Kelley. They acknowledged, however, that the Democratic Party had to change itself in order to take advantage of Republican immoralities, and in order to encourage change, they discussed and voted on (and presumably read) a thick packet of positions, christened "The New American Choice."

On foreign policy, the DLC was forced to tread lightly, since some of the New American Choosers—Gore, Joseph Lieberman, Stephen Solarz—had voted in favor of using force in the Persian Gulf, while others—Sam Nunn, Richard Gephardt—had not. So the DLC came out in favor of supporting democracy worldwide, and thumped George Bush for his handling of Tiananmen Square and the Baltics. The DLC did bite a bullet on trade, or at least gnawed it. Although union members leafleted incoming delegates, urging them to block "fast-track" negotiations with Mexico, the DLC wound up backing the fast track, so long as the White House proposed a "credible plan" to address jobs lost north of the border. In its domestic-issues resolutions, the DLC plugged a GI-bill-like reward for civilian national service, and an increase in the personal exemption for children to at least $6,000.

To discuss these and other issues, the DLC produced a clutch of outside experts who were less leery about associating with Republicans. Vince Lane, of the Chicago Housing Authority, incautiously declared that his experiments with tenant management of public housing had been cited favorably by Jack Kemp, while Polly Williams, the Milwaukee school-choice advocate, boasted of the coalitions she had made with conservative Republicans. "People said, 'Republicans don't like you.' I said, 'I don't go to Madison

Chris Miles

for friends.'" Happily for the DLC, these heresies were delivered to committees, or to half-empty halls.

Unfortunately, the burden of presentation was borne chiefly by national figures. The level of their oratory was dismaying. Douglas Wilder was unctuous and evasive. Chuck Robb had all the presence of a railroad tie. Sam Nunn chaired a committee meeting which I missed, lucky me. Al Gore gave a moderately interesting speech, positing a "Republican Syndrome"—"defeatism before the challenges facing the country"—which had to be vanquished even as the Gulf War had vanquished the Vietnam Syndrome. But someone must have told him he speaks too slowly, for he raced through his text, stomping on its infrequent applause lines. Former Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas, the only declared presidential candidate, distributed a "Call to Economic Arms" that was 84 pages long (he must not have had the time to write a shorter one). He has a dry, wry sense of humor, and he's not afraid to stick his neck out: along about page 51, he called for nuclear power.

Only two speakers made an impression. Richard Gephardt has the makings of a true demagogue. Four years ago, he was hated by the press corps as I've never seen a candidate hated, because he had changed his identity more times than Madonna: from boll weevil, to Atari Democrat, to Jap-basher. Gephardt has stuck with his third incarnation, and if trade becomes an issue, he might go places. Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton was a tough partisan, yet genial. His only problem is a quick, clipped Southern accent, like early Carter, which occasionally breaks down into gargling.

Much of the discussion was less New American Choice than Old Democratic Echoes. The DLC added several "be it resolveds" from the floor, one on the environment, another endorsing abortion. The DLC reserved its loftiest tone for the 1991 Civil Rights Bill, excoriating the White House for "sabotaging" negotiations between the civil-rights lobby and the Business Roundtable. The moral assurance of the DLC's rhetoric was in direct proportion to its shakiness in fact: the Business Roundtable broke off the talks when it discovered what Robert Allen of AT&T, its representative, was sucking it into. The convention tussled over a sentence in the preamble which contained the Q word: "We oppose discrimination of any kind—including quotas." Many delegates felt that mentioning quotas, even to attack them, conceded too much to Republican efforts to make quotas an issue. Yet once the phrase had appeared in draft, removing it would have seemed like a back-handed endorsement of them. In the end, the sentence stayed, with an additional clause favoring legal remedies to "right [the] wrongs" of discrimination.

The DLC was on equally spongy ground on taxes. The convention forthrightly called for "restor[ing] progressivity to the tax code," as a way of lifting the burdens of the middle and working classes. The great question, of course, is where exactly the middle class end and the rich begin. The Democrats can draw hope from the fact that George Bush lost whatever

Mr. Brookhiser is an NR *senior editor and a columnist for the* New York Observer.

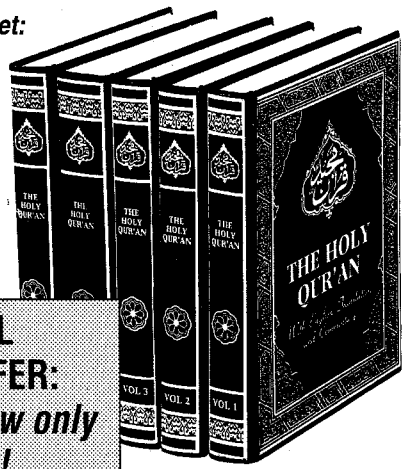
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WORLDWIDE, THIS BOOK GUIDES THE DAILY LIVES OF OVER A BILLION PEOPLE.

MOST OF US IN THE WEST HAVE NEVER EVEN SEEN ONE.

The Gulf Crisis: never was an international conflict more aptly named — for indeed there is an immense cultural gulf between the West and the Islamic East. Now there is available to English readers an authoritative translation of the book that guides the daily lives of over a billion people worldwide — ***an invaluable resource to scholars of international studies, world politics, and comparative religions.***

Complete 5-Volume set: The Holy Qur'an with Translation and Commentary
A must for any serious study of the Middle East. Contains over 3000 pages, 4900 subject entries.

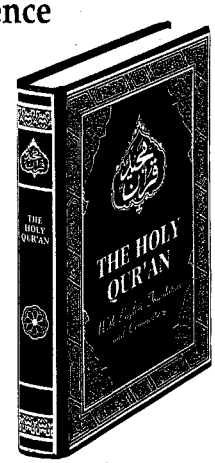


SPECIAL 60-DAY OFFER:
was $300...***now only $199.99!***

"At 3000 pages, this is the only comprehensive Qur'an in English. We misunderstand Islam today. The faith that has captured the minds, the hearts, the souls of over a billion people, now seems to us linked to world disorder. But Mohammad's message was plain: a humble submission (Islam) *to the strictly monotheistic God identified with the Jewish and Christian God, the God "nearer to man than his jugular vein...." And these five volumes are a wonder of exegesis. Included are translations of Arabic words, examination of root meanings, comprehensive commentary throughout fourteen centuries of interpretation, a full index and bibliography ....An elaborate achievement of scholarship and faith showing the heart of a religion that has lived vibrantly in a profound tradition, explained by hallowed commentary, preserved in the special repository called the Qur'an. Many, many commentaries, testimonials are woven together here, all the way from Western medical reports (on the dangers of alcohol) to understanding of Jewish law to elaborate historical lessons concerning the life and times of Muhammad.... A monument of research and reference."*

—The Book Reader, March 1991

The *Only* Complete Reference Qur'an in English



- **Translation** of Arabic words and historical & cultural roots of key words
- **Full Commentary** providing extensive and authoritative interpretation of verses
- **Index & Bibliography**
- **Cross-reference**
- **Well-researched biography of Muhammad,** the Holy Prophet of Islam*

The Holy Qur'an with Translation and Commentary
Specially published for the average reader and the college student. Index, cross-references. *Complete Scripture; commentary condensed from 5-volume edition.* **$49.99**

Also available:

The Holy Qur'an with English translation Student Edition. **$18.99**
Translations of the Holy Qur'an are available in 56 languages including French, German, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Russian, Portuguese, Korean, Swedish, Albanian and Spanish. The original Arabic text runs in parallel columns corresponding to the translation. $31.99 each

Introduction to the Study of the Qur'an — A comparative study of other Scriptures and the Qur'an; the biography of Muhammad, the Holy Prophet of Islam, peace and blessing of Allah be upon him; history of the compilation of the Holy Qur'an, and the characteristics of its main teachings. Beautiful. Hardcover. **$19.99**

Life of Muhammad — Author: Hazrat Mirza Basheeruddin Mahmud Ahmad. Life sketch of the Holy Prophet of Islam. Hardcover **$17.99**

Murder in the Name of Allah — Hazrat Mirza Tahir Ahmad. While the primary focus is an Islamic world in conflict, the author exposes the corruption of religion used to justify terrorism, torture, assassination, genocide, and war. **$17.89**

The Philosophy of the Teachings of Islam — Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. A clear exposition of the philosophy of Islam. Based on Quranic teachings and fully referenced, this book explains a full range of topics considered alien to Western faiths. Softcover. **$5.**

**Available in the 5-volume set.*

To Order CALL: (202) 232-3737 or FAX (202) 232-8181

Islam International Publications • Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam, Inc. • 2141 Leroy Place • Washington, D.C. 20008

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

credibility he had on the issue last summer.

Late in the afternoon of the first day, I left all this to look in on Jesse Jackson. Jackson had been pointedly not invited to address the convention; in revenge, he cruised around Cleveland while it was in session, collecting sound-bites and photo-ops. I caught up with him at a rally in support of an ancient strike against Greyhound.

I have seen Jesse Jackson lick Castro's boots and belt to a fine shine. I have already thought the worst I can possibly think of him. Perhaps for that reason, I found myself disposed to consider his good points, or at least his points of interest. He led the small crowd in a moving prayer for George Bush's health. "If there is any lesson to be learned from the President's irregular heartbeat, it is that at the noon day of our lives, there is always some eclipse waiting for us." Unencumbered by second thoughts, his slogans fly home. "Zenith appliances were once made on the West Side of Chicago. From there, the fast track led to Texas, which was one stop from Mexico. It was a fast track to the unemployment line."

When the rally was done, he led the unionists in a march under grey skies to the Greyhound terminal. The terminal clock had no hands. A young black security guard gave Jackson a salute. City bus drivers honked greetings as they passed.

Every pundit, including me, has said that the emergence of Douglas Wilder means the end of Jesse Jackson. I wonder. It is true that all Wilder has to do to attract support is to not be Jackson. It may also be true that all Jackson has to do is to not be Wilder. The task should be easy for both men.

Jackson is only a candidate of the Left, but that is a largeish faction in the Democratic Party these days. And there are other Democrats who can preach the true religion: Gephardt III; Mario Cuomo. All the good homework and the bad speeches of the DLC aren't likely to change that. □

LOOKING FOR YOU IN '92

THEY HAVE the haunting, cowed look of the vanquished. Once proud and defiant, they are now shredded and pathetic. They are the Democrats.

There's still a year to go before the next presidential election, and already the Democratic faithful are looking ahead to '96. Damn those Desert Storms.

But before the white flag is raised, someone should clue them in: there is a man who could run, and quite possibly win, a presidential campaign against George Bush. He's popular, tough, detail-oriented, and above all—he's a leader. Cuomo? Gore? Silber? Wilder? Schwarzkopf? No way. We're talking 1992 here. We're talking Mikhail Gorbachev.

Now there's a people's candidate! Charismatic, worldly, small-town roots, and a can-do attitude. All this and a wife who lives for the mall.

Indeed, Mr. Gorbachev has the opportunity to be the ultimate American politician. That's because he speaks through an interpreter. Demographic brilliance! You can get multi-generational appeal, and furthermore you can switch translators to satisfy virtually any ethno-socio-economic audience. And imagine Mr. Gorbachev suddenly stopping, pointing to his interpreter, and in thickly accented English saying, "Read his lips!"

Mr. Pesci is a freelance writer from Windsor Locks, Conn.

But it's not the entertainment value, it's the issues, the tough stands, that excite the public. And that's Mr. Gorbachev's strength.

The L word. Mr. Gorbachev is no vacillating closet liberal. He'll tell you straight out, "I am a liberal in the tradition of Marx, Lenin, and Franklin D. Roosevelt." That kind of fearless-admission stuff is great for TV. Just imagine a 30-second spot: Gorby's "Liberal Tradition" quote, some blue collars, a dash of amber waves, and a Beatles soundtrack, "Revolution" (so it's not the same Lennon—we're talking votes here, not *Jeopardy* answers).

Domestic Programs. Mr. Gorbachev is in good shape on this one. Bankrupt as it is, his home state has no unemployment, housing for all, and a national health plan that includes comprehensive medical and dental care and covers extended stays in mental hospitals. And taxes have stayed pretty much the same for twenty or thirty years. Imagine what he can do in an environment that doesn't have lines for bread, meat, shoes, or Big Macs!

Governing Power. One question during the last presidential campaign was experience. Could the Democratic candidate govern on a national level? For Mr. Gorbachev it's not an issue. Not only is he the Soviet Head of State, but he recently gave himself complete dictatorial powers. In addition, he's had a lot of creative input with Warsaw Pact nations, the Baltics, Cuba, and a number of African nations. In fact, his only weakness may be dealing with the Russians.

Defense. Mr. Gorbachev is against Star Wars, the MX, stealth technology, cruise missiles, smart bombs, and U.S. involvement in NATO, Central America, the Middle East, the Philippines, and California. He also frowns on expansion of the American Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, and Coast Guard. This fits the Democratic Party line very well.

Intangibles. Mr. Gorbachev is only 5′9″ but looks bigger on TV, wall posters, and on top of the Kremlin wall; well educated and a proven negotiator; great name and face recognition; a man who wades into crowds wherever he goes (except Moscow); Nobel Peace Prize winner and still not afraid to call in the troops during a domestic dispute; likes jazz, rap, and heavy metal; saw *Dances with Wolves*, twice; eats at Mickey D's.

What's more, Mr. Gorbachev should be available soon. The key here is not to let anyone else pick him up before the New Hampshire primary, especially the KGB. There *is* that sticky clause in the Constitution about country of origin—but hey, what party controls the House and the Senate right now? And really, it can't be any tougher to pass an amendment than a pay raise.

So get to work. The primaries are just around the corner. Happy days are here again! —DAVID PESCI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE VOTE STANDARD

Either people want to get rid of inflation or they don't.
There's only one way to find out.

ANDREW COYNE

AT THE HEIGHT of Lebanon's protracted civil war the governor of the Banque du Liban, the country's central bank, locked himself inside the bank's West Beirut headquarters, with about $5 billion in gold and foreign currencies for company. He did not set foot outside for more than two years, eating, sleeping, and tending his flowers in a small two-room apartment on the top floor. Secure against pillage by either side in his sandbagged redoubt, he issued bank notes, paid interest on government debt, and struggled to support the Lebanese pound. Well, almost secure: last spring, gunmen burst in and tried to abduct the governor. They roughed him up, but were forced to flee when bank guards arrived and opened fire. The minister of finance later issued a public apology. The gunmen, after all, were his.

Few central bankers have had to go to quite such lengths to safeguard their independence from political interference. Yet over much of the industrialized world, they must feel similarly besieged. Hardly a week goes by without one official or another in the Bush Administration badgering the Federal Reserve to ease monetary policy, with notable recent success. In Japan, months of bickering between the finance minister and the governor of the Bank of Japan over interest rates helped set off last year's 50 per cent fall in the Nikkei Dow. Even the famously independent Bundesbank was rudely overruled on the terms of German monetary union by the Kohl government. Central banks are supposed to be autonomous, de jure or de facto, in all of these countries. But you'd never know it these days.

By contrast, in countries where central banks have historically been under political control, the trend is the other way. Public figures in Britain, including former Chancellor of the Exchequer Nigel Lawson, are calling for an independent Bank of England. Newly democratic Chile is the first country in Latin America to establish an independent central bank; Argentina may follow. The countries of Eastern Europe are taking the same step, led by Poland and Hungary. The radical economic liberals in New Zealand's Labor government even went so far as to tie the salary of the governor of the Reserve Bank to his success in fighting inflation.

These competing tendencies met head-on in two bills first introduced in the last Congress. One, sponsored by Representatives Byron Dorgan (D., N.D.) and Lee Hamilton (D., Ind.), would have given the treasury secretary a vote on the Federal Open Market Committee, which sets Fed policy (it was later changed to say the secretary should meet regularly with the committee). It would also require immediate release of the minutes of each meeting, and allow a new President to install his own choice as chairman a year after taking office. The other bill, sponsored by Representative Stephen Neal (D., N.C.), would direct the Fed to cut inflation to zero over five years. Though ultimately unenforceable, a legislative ban on inflation would help immunize the Fed from Washington's vociferous cheap-money lobby.

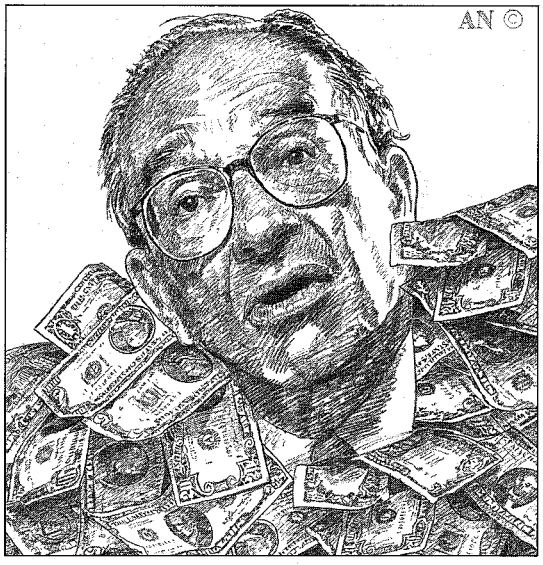
The same struggle is being played out in Europe. At German insistence, the new European central bank the European Community is contemplating will be given the statutory duty of maintaining the purchasing power of the European Currency Unit (ECU). Policy will be set by a council made up of the governors of the 12 nations' central banks (plus five to seven full-time directors) independently of other EC bodies. At French insistence, however, the council of finance ministers will control exchange-rate policy, which implies control of interest rates. And there is no guarantee of the independence of each country's central bank (though member states are supposed to move toward this)—leaving open the chance of political interference by proxy.

Mr. Coyne is a contributing editor with the Financial Post *in Toronto.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The arguments in these civil wars are always the same. The Roundheads, invoking democratic principle, insist that central banks must be accountable to elected authorities. The Royalists defend the central banks' divine right to set monetary policy independently. Monetary policy, in the Royalists' view, would inevitably lean to inflation if left to the vagaries of democratic politics. A politicized Fed would find it harder to take unpopular but necessary steps to maintain price stability. As the arch-Royalist *Economist* put it, "Any government that insists on access to the printing press cannot be trusted with it."

Royalists argue that an independent central bank is still accountable, in the end. Central bankers are appointed to fixed terms by elected officials. If the people don't like what they're doing, they can always elect politicians pledged to replace them. *The New Republic*'s Michael Kinsley calls it "democracy on a long fuse." Still, this ought to give democrats some pause. The analogy is frequently drawn with the Supreme Court, which is also "unaccountable." But that's because the Court must often protect minorities from the tyranny of the majority. The implication in the case of the Fed, as Kinsley acknowledges, is that the majority must be protected from itself. This strikes at the heart of democratic governance. Nobody suggests that a similarly appointed agency set tax policy.



Alan Nahigian

We appear to be faced with an intractable dilemma: grant independence to a central banker who, however sound on inflation, remains unaccountable; or hand control over policy to elected politicians with a taste for easy money. Must we choose between democracy and stable prices? Isn't there some middle ground here? Yes, there is: Elect the Fed.

Taxation without Representation

THE WHOLE ISSUE of whether the Fed should be "independent" or "accountable" stems from a failure to define our terms: Accountable to whom? Independent of what? Let's not blame the people for the sins of their leaders. It isn't democracy that monetary policy must be protected from, but government. It's perfectly legitimate to argue that something as critical in its effects on the economy as monetary policy—Paul Volcker was once profiled as the Second Most Powerful Man in America—should be subject to democratic control. But it should be *direct* control.

The case for keeping monetary policy out of the Capitol Hill/White House axis is grounded not in aristocratic distrust of democracy, but in that bedrock American principle of separation of powers—in this case, fiscal and monetary. The old reason for this was to prevent governments from shaving the present value of public debt by debasing the currency in which it is denominated. If it could prevail upon the central bank to buy some of its debt, the government could take the pressure off interest rates—which doubtless pleased private debtors, too. Since the time of the first coinage, this has been the favorite means for governments and vested interests to plunder the populace. Inflation is a tax that can be levied without consent, indeed without warning. So it's eminently democratic to deny government this power, on another bedrock American principle: No taxation without representation.

The sophistication of financial markets means the state has a harder time nowadays cheating its creditors: bonds drop like mine canaries at the first whiff of inflation. The only way the Fed can achieve a reduction in real interest rates is to engineer a larger amount of inflation than bond markets anticipate. Markets would soon wise up to that, however, demanding a higher nominal rate to compensate, which means the Fed would have to raise inflation yet higher, and so forth. Infinite inflation for marginally lower rates isn't much of a bargain.

That also means there's no longer anything in it for private borrowers: the Fed can't drive down real interest rates for them either. Whatever electoral benefits there may once have been from inflation have disappeared. The only people who have an explicit stake in easy money today are those trading in areas of the economy that serve as inflation hedges. Real-estate speculators do not form a large political constituency.

A lot of people think this means inflation is no longer a threat. Millions of investors around the world rendering instantaneous judgment on national monetary policies impose a ruthless discipline, willy-nilly. Former Citicorp Chairman Walter Wriston calls it the "information standard." If there are no fiscal or electoral gains to governments from inflation, then rationally that should be the end of it.

The reason why we should wish to keep the government's hands off the monetary levers all the same is that the government is no longer a free agent, capable of rational choice. It has been taken hostage. Debt of all kinds, public and private, has grown so bloated as to invite a full-blown crisis in the event of a serious contraction. Total corporate liabilities now amount to more than 55 per cent of gross national product, up from 45 per cent a decade ago. Gross public debt is equal to 60 per cent of GNP, up from 37 per cent. The federal deficit has ballooned to $318 billion in fiscal 1991; state and local governments add another $40 billion, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Enjoy all your favorite columns – every week!

Pat Buchanan

James Kilpatrick

Joseph Sobran

George Will

Jeane Kirkpatrick

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

•Challenging opinions by 54 National Columnists and Cartoonists
CONSERVATIVE CHRONICLE
$1.50
Vol. 5, Number 24
Hampton, Iowa
Wednesday, June 13, 1990
Latest Threat to National Defense: Congress
Pat Buchanan's column on page 1.
DEFENSE
For quick reference to all articles, turn to TOPIC INDEX on page 1.

At Last There is One Source

***How can you get** all of the nation's top conservative columnists and your favorite cartoonists every week?*

You could buy** over a dozen metro newspapers, or subscribe to the publication that has them all – the **Conservative Chronicle.

If you want to know what all the nation's finest conservative minds are saying about the Middle East crisis, terrorism, the Supreme Court, defense spending, obscenity issues, educational reform and individual rights ... now there is **one** convenient source – the ***Conservative Chronicle***!

Every week, read the distinguished columnists shown plus William Safire, Mona Charen, Thomas Sowell, Warren Brookes, Paul Harvey, Edward Grimsley, William Rusher, Suzanne Fields, Evans & Novak, William Buckley, Charley Reese – more than **28** nationally-respected columnists and **24** cartoonists with conservative appeal.

And it's all in an easy-to-handle format! You'll also enjoy the wit and humor of the ***Conservative Chronicle's*** featured cartoonists, including Jeff McNelly, Dick Wright, Steve Kelly, Mike Shelton, Jerry Barnett, Bill DeOre and Henry Payne.

All 52 issues are yours for only $39.00! Cancel at any time – for any reason – and get a full refund on unmailed copies. Get the complete story. Don't miss this great line-up of conservative thinkers. Call **toll-free 1-800-888-3039** or mail our coupon and take advantage of this exceptional value!

A great gift idea!

Conservative Chronicle
Box 11297-NR, Des Moines, IA 50340-1297

***Yes,** I accept your subscription offer of 1 year (52 issues) for $39.00 (add $25.00 for foreign postage). I understand I can obtain a full refund on unmailed copies at any time.*

Payment: ❒ Check ❒ Bill me ❒ VISA ❒ MC

Card # _____ Exp. date _____

Name _____

Address _____ Apt. # _____

City _____ State ____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

counting. Throw in mortgages, credit cards, and other consumer debt, and the U.S. debt-to-GNP ratio has leapt to 200 per cent. It was just 140 per cent at the start of the 1980s.

More and more of this debt is in short-term maturities, creating cash-flow concerns: debt payments now absorb a record 37 per cent of pre-tax profits. Less and less is covered by assets, increasing the likelihood of default. In the event of widespread default, the financial system, already exposed to real-estate and Third World loans, and shaken by the S&L crisis, would implode. Revenue to the government would collapse; the magic of compound interest would soon take the national debt into the stratosphere. So although the Fed, like every other central bank, insists that price stability is its goal, no one believes it. Even the current mild recession was more than the Fed could stand. With inflation at 5 per cent at the *beginning* of an expansion, and the financial imbalances in the system largely uncorrected, the Fed is still cutting short-term interest rates. But long rates have refused to follow them, a sign of the market's suspicion.

Alan Nahigian

Credibility Gap

THIS credibility gap is crucial. Monetary policy involves a complicated exchange of expectations between government and public, each circling warily about the other in a dance of mutual anticipation. The public scrutinizes the authorities carefully, trying to guess future policy moves; the authorities must in turn try to predict public response to policy as a factor in their own economic projections. If, for example, the public expects higher inflation, economic agents will ask for higher prices, wages, and interest rates to keep pace. If policy instead tightens and inflation falls, catching the public unawares, the economy will be starved of the demand people thought would support prices. Lower inflation plus higher nominal wages and interest rates means that real wages and interest rates rise. Costlier labor and capital means less employment and investment—in other words, a recession.

So if a government wishes to reduce inflation without recession, it's vital that people understand the policy it intends to pursue. Just as important, they must believe the announced policy really will be carried out. And if they are truly to believe it, they must believe the government would go ahead even if they did not. For just as policy affects expectations, expectations affect policy. The government knows that if the people guess wrong about its policy, it may cost them both a recession. But if the people know the government is unwilling to bear that cost, then they can guess what they like, knowing that government will adjust policy to "ratify" their expectations. Conversely, the greater the public's conviction that the authorities are determined to tighten money growth, no matter what the costs, the lower those costs are likely to be: expectations of lower inflation would keep wage and price demands in line. Successful monetary policy, in short, like nuclear deterrence, depends upon a credible threat.

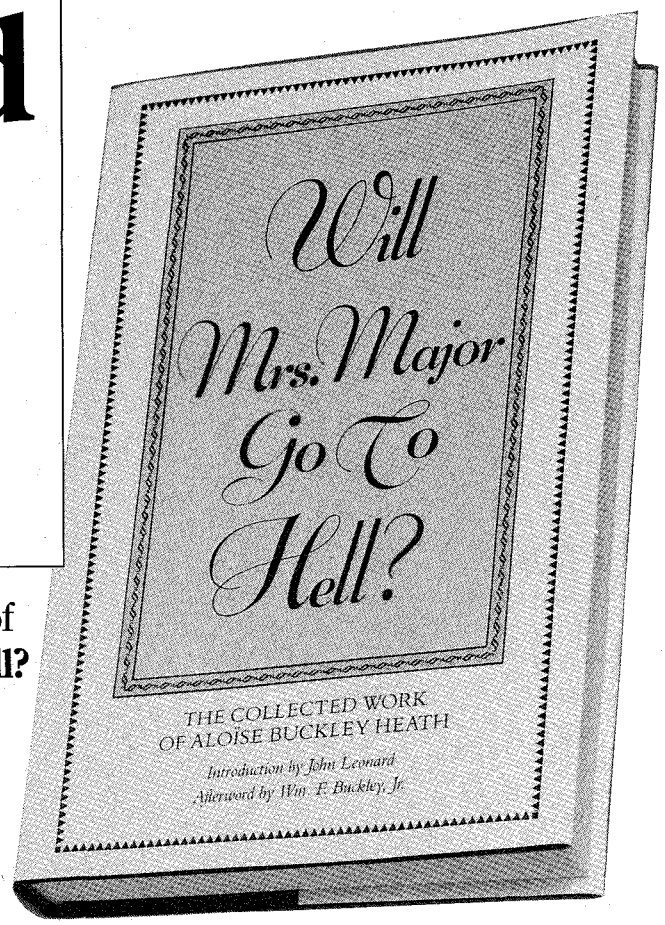
Once it is generally believed the monetary authorities will do anything to stave off a debt-default crisis, economic agents will be encouraged to behave in ways that invite one. There are two possible results, neither palatable. Either wages and prices spiral, in the knowledge that the Fed would always pump up demand enough to accommodate them. Or inflation is kept in check, but only by repeated doses of recession and high unemployment. In other words, the Fed must either confirm or confound expectations that it lacks the stomach to fight inflation. The more entrenched those expectations, the likelier it is that the Fed will be forced to confirm them with higher and higher inflation, for the nastier the recession would be otherwise. It took a recession just to get inflation back down to 5 per cent from 6 per cent. Think what would happen on the road to zero inflation—or from 10 per cent back to 5 per cent. Now remember that every price- and wage-setter is thinking the same thing.

Inflation thus becomes a one-way bet. Expectations of ease invariably prove self-fulfilling: fearing to disappoint expectations, the Fed would err on the high side. All that is needed to set the spiral off is for someone to get the idea of testing the Fed's resolve. What would give anyone that idea? The debt. It doesn't matter how tough the Fed talks: so long as it is within the fold of government, the debt undermines its credibility. The percentage play is always to ask for more.

Why would an independent Fed be any more willing than the government to risk a recession in pursuit of price stability? Who would want a recession, after all, even if they aren't the world's biggest debtor? But escalating inflation and escalating debt are not the only possible outcomes here. The third—which would lessen the chance of fiscal crisis, and with it the terrors of recession—is an immediate decline in debt relative to GNP. That is, the policy choices are not just tight money or loose money, but fiscal tightening or ease as well. Alas, the sort of savage spending cuts and/or tax increases required would hurt a lot of people, not least the politicians responsible for carrying them out. For the President and Congress, the certain costs of cutting spending are worse than the potential costs

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You won't find this book in your local bookstore...


Will Mrs. Major Go To Hell?
THE COLLECTED WORK OF ALOÏSE BUCKLEY HEATH
Introduction by John Leonard
Afterword by Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

...but you can get the brand-new updated edition of Aloïse Buckley Heath's **Will Mrs. Major Go to Hell?** directly from *National Review* for just $16.95.

Here is what the "Book-of-the-Month Club News" said about **Will Mrs. Major Go to Hell?** when it was first published:

> "It may be the warmest, funniest book about suburban family life since *Please Don't Eat the Daisies*, and it suggests that a true talent was lost when Mrs. Heath died at the untimely age of 48. She was one of ten children and had ten of her own, which helps explain why she was busy. The picture she gives of the way her family lived is both touching and hilarious, and she also casts a wry glance at the social scene in such pieces as one entitled 'Ladies Month in the Slicks,' wherein she notes, regarding the suggestion that harried housewives be given a paid-up charm course for Christmas. 'This gift had better be limited to harried housewives you know very well indeed.'"

...and we honestly can't remember when we've seen a more tender, poignant collection of stories. The late Aloïse Buckley Heath (William F. Buckley Jr.'s sister) wrote some absolutely priceless things about her own family, and the early days of *National Review*, plus some marvelously funny satirical observations on our contemporary habits and institutions.

There is something in this book to please every member of your family. You'll meet all the Heath children and encounter with them such American institutions as the New Math and the episode of the riotous carpool.

Don't miss her wonderfully entertaining views on soap operas or her recollections as an inadvertent fund-raiser (successful and highly unorthodox) for Smith College. Her Christmas stories are authentic classics, especially the Heaths' version of a Trapp Family Christmas.

And don't miss her "Baby in the Bathroom," "A Letter for Maureen" or "Politics and Mortal Sin." **Will Mrs. Major Go to Hell?** captures perfectly Mrs. Heath's own vibrant spirit ... the book is an absolute classic of tenderness and humanity.

If you don't get another book this year, you'll be glad you got this one. You will find yourself enjoying it again and again, each time finding something new to delight you.

To order your copy all you need do is fill out the handy coupon and mail it back to us today — you'll be glad you did.

☐ Yes, please send me my own copy of **Will Mrs. Major Go to Hell?** at the special NR price of just $16.95. I also enclose $2.00 to cover postage and handling. Please mail to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____ 61091

(Canadian and all other foreign orders, please add $4.00, U.S. currency for shipping and handling.)

Mail your order to:

National Review
Attn: Mrs. Major Book
150 East 35th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of a fiscal crisis, especially so long as the monetary safety valve remains available.

Suppose an independent Fed closed that option, however. Since it is not responsible for fiscal policy, the Fed does not bear the political costs associated with a fiscal tightening. And yet the Fed could impose fiscal discipline indirectly. A government without recourse to the printing press is no longer the perfect credit risk: creditors would start to dictate terms. The Fed wouldn't have to stare down the markets, as before: it would just have to stare down the government. The markets would do the rest. But to do that the Fed must be the equal in moral authority of Congress or the President.

Not So Independent

IT'S ALL VERY WELL just to pass a law stating that the central bank is autonomous. But if true, this is undemocratic, and if false, it is worthless. In practice, the latter has more often been the case: central banks have proved not to be so independent as all that. Certainly in the U.S., the tendency of monetary growth to speed up in the year or so before presidential elections has been long noted. Over the past three decades, prices have more than quadrupled, supported by a tenfold increase in money supply. William McChesney Martin did it for Johnson; Arthur Burns did it for Nixon and Carter. Even Volcker, the inflation-killer, did it. In the 1985 Plaza Accord, Treasury Secretary James Baker pledged the U.S. to driving down the dollar, thus committing the Fed to a looser monetary policy. The Fed obliged. And so it continues. In the shadow of a presidential election, and with the Fed chairman's own term up for renewal, the Fed has dropped the discount rate twice already this year.

It could not be otherwise. No central bank, no matter how independent it is on paper, has the legitimacy to stand up to a democratically elected government determined to get its way. It doesn't matter what the terms of its charter may be: if necessary, the government would change the legislation. Whether the central bank should be "independent" or "accountable" is a false issue: if it's not accountable, it *won't* be independent. An unelected Fed imposing its will on the government is an intolerable usurpation of democratic authority. Elected, it's good old checks and balances.

For that matter, inflation is not only a matter of meddling by wastrel politicians: it's often unclear whether the central bank itself is sincere in its devotion to stable prices. Contrary to popular belief, central bankers are not, as a rule, doctrinaire monetarists. Most display an enduring belief in the possibilities of "fine-tuning." Alan Greenspan is no exception. Indeed, it's difficult to tell what if anything is guiding Fed policy, given the secrecy surrounding its deliberations and the chairman's penchant for the oracular. One week it's commodity prices, the next the yield curve, the week after that it's the dollar. Every year the Fed dutifully announces targets for growth in the various money-supply aggregates, but no one believes it has any intention of sticking to them. Central-bank independence is therefore not a sufficient (though it is a necessary) condition for honest money. A clear, unambiguous mandate for stable prices would be as instructive to the Fed as to the other branches of government.

To escape the corrupting influence of fiscal and monetary debauchees, some economists suggest taking policy out of the authorities' hands altogether. Monetarists favor a rule holding the rate of growth of the money supply to a steady year-in, year-out figure. Supply-siders advocate returning to a gold or commodity standard. Since each dollar could be converted into gold at a fixed price, central banks would have to maintain a steady value for money, or see a run on their reserves. Or the currency could be fixed at a given rate of exchange with that of another country. This can be a useful alternative if the benchmark chosen—the Deutsche Mark, say—is resolutely anti-inflationary.

Nobel laureate Friedrich von Hayek has taken the opposite tack. Far from fixing currencies against one another, Hayek advocates allowing them to compete in the same market—to let anyone, domestic or foreign, issue and circulate any currency he wishes. Competing currencies would guarantee price stability: a currency losing purchasing power would soon find itself losing customers.

There are problems with each of these alternatives—How do you measure the money supply? Who controls the supply of gold on world markets? Is the Deutsche Mark as stable as we thought? What if all currencies inflate together?—but the weakness common to all is that they beg the question of political will: any government that could summon the nerve to put itself on the gold standard, let alone to privatize the mint, would have no trouble running a stable monetary policy. Absent that will, rules are no substitute. Richard Nixon found the gold standard little obstacle to his inflationary designs in 1971: faced with the reserve constraint, he simply took the U.S. off the gold standard.

Political will derives from popular will. The express preference of the people for stable prices is in the end the sole assurance of the authorities' resolve.

The Vote Standard

TO RECAP: Any sound monetary regime must separate the fiscal and monetary powers. To safeguard that separation, the monetary power must have its own base of legitimacy. The only way in a democracy to guarantee that legitimacy is through a popular mandate. That's as it should be: it simply won't do to tell people they must accept whatever an unelected, unaccountable central banker tells them is good for them. The solution follows. Put monetary policy, not on the gold standard, but on the vote standard. Elect the Fed.

This could be accomplished on any one of several models: parliamentary, if regional representation were considered important; or direct election of the chairman, as the representative of all the people. Some

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reshuffling of duties might also be in order: banking supervision could be hived off to another government agency, while the Fed would be given sole responsibility for exchange-rate policy.

I hear the skeptics. Would the people vote for honest money? Or would they be swayed by a sweet-talking soft-money salesman? Maybe they would—once. The best advertising in the world won't sell a bad product a second time. Monetary policy is undoubtedly a complex issue. But if you want voters to make responsible choices, you have to give them responsibility. Once introduced into the domain of popular sovereignty, monetary policy would be discussed with the same frequency and intensity as taxes, increasing public awareness and understanding of monetary issues.

A democratic Fed would have to talk openly with the public, making less likely any miscalculation as to its intentions, and with it any consequent dislocation in the real economy. And the public could in turn speak with a clearer voice. We get inflation now because in a presidential election, people's views on Fed policy get buried in the mix. They only come to the fore when inflation is already out of hand. The citizens should be able to choose their monetary policy in isolation from other concerns. Not only is this more democratic, but it makes for better government: the voters will have nobody but themselves to blame if inflation follows.

There would, moreover, be a third party in this conversation: capital markets. If a candidate promising loose money were leading in the polls, interest rates would rise sharply; if the tight-money candidate then pulled ahead, they would immediately drop. The lesson that the road to lower interest rates runs through lower inflation could never be brought home more forcefully. Bond markets would act as a consumer guide for the electorate, rating the monetary soundness of the candidates. Perhaps people would still vote for the loose-money candidate. But I doubt it.

Like its sister, protectionism, inflation is not the vote-getter its proponents believe. The greatest orator in American history, William Jennings Bryan, made the greatest speech in American history on behalf of the free minting of silver ("You shall not crucify mankind on a cross of gold!"). He ran three times for President, and lost every time. Given a choice between double-digit inflation and double-digit unemployment, the public will not hesitate to take unemployment. They may not grasp the economic implications of inflation, but they can feel its political message in their bones. Like the graffiti that once covered New York subway cars, inflation sends a constant, inescapable signal: *No one's really in charge here.* Trust in the currency is trust in the state; when one is betrayed, the other suffers.

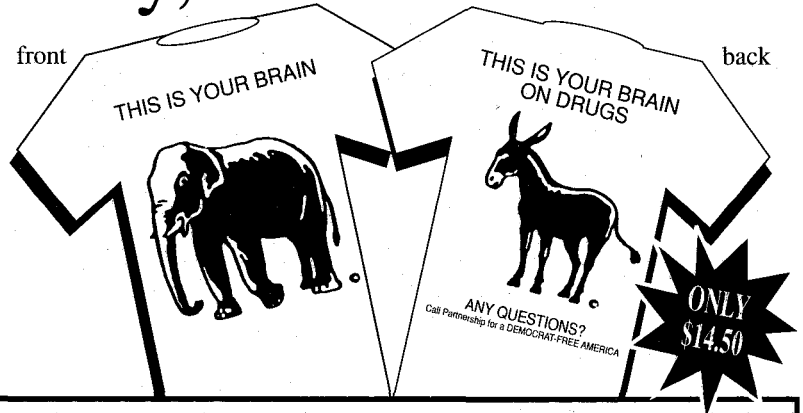
That's why, when inflation began to climb exponentially in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the public in country after country turned to politicians with the will to control it. No one was under any illusion that it would be easy, and it wasn't. We went through the worst recession since the Great Depression. But the same leaders were re-elected time and again. The great—some would say the only—achievement of Ronald Reagan was to restore American self-confidence. That had much more to do with the conquest of inflation than of Grenada.

Inflation Is Not Forever

GOVERNMENTS may come and go, but it seems inflation goes on forever. It doesn't have to be this way. Inflation is not some mysterious, intractable ailment, beyond the ken of man. It is indeed one of the few social ills entirely within the competence of the state to cure, because it is the creation of the state in the first place. All you need is will.

It comes down to this: Either people want honest money, or they don't. If they do, they haven't been getting it, and they won't get it until they have the means to tell both governments and central bankers, very clearly, that that's what they want. If they don't, then there's no good argument for forcing it upon them. If what they really want is inflation, let them vote for it. That, after all, is democracy. □

"Okay, one more time..."



This quality 100% cotton T-shirt has two-color designs on front and back.

Name:_____
Address:_____
City:_____St:____Zip:_____
Payment method: check__charge card__
Card #:_____
Exp date:_____Visa__MC__

S ___X $14.50 = $_____
M ___X $14.50 = $_____
L ___X $14.50 = $_____
XL ___X $14.50 = $_____
XXL ___X $16.50 = $_____
Total for t-shirts $_____
Postage & handling (see box) $_____
Total enclosed $_____

GOPNR 1990

P&H: First shirt $2.50, each additional shirt $1.50

Please mail or FAX order form and payment to:
GOP PROMOTIONS, LTD., PO BOX 150153, NASHVILLE, TN 37215-0153
FOR FASTER DELIVERY FAX YOUR ORDER TODAY: 615-242-7509
Allow 4 to 6 weeks for delivery. Call for wholesale or fundraising discount pricing: 615-373-6933
Shirt design copyright MGH Enterprises, 1990

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A RIOT PRIMER

Summer is still a month away, and our cities have already had one minor and one major riot. There is a solution: read the riot act, and act accordingly.

EUGENE H. METHVIN

DO WE have to relearn every couple of decades—at high cost in blood and treasure—the ABCs of riot ignition and suppression?

Two recent outbursts of urban mass violence suggest we may be in for a chain reaction of anti-police rioting like the ones that erupted in Harlem and five other cities in 1964, followed by the bloody "long hot summer" riots in Watts, Newark, Detroit, Washington, and many other cities in 1965–68. Following the vicious Los Angeles police beating of Rodney King on March 3, police attempts to arrest street drunks, a routine occurrence, produced a minor riot in Houston and major violence in Washington, D.C.

In a drug-and-gang-infested neighborhood in Houston, on Saturday night, May 4, a solo policeman came upon a man who appeared intoxicated. The officer told the man he would have to go to jail. The man refused and shoved the officer. "At that time I noticed another man standing behind me with a video camera, filming the whole thing. It was an obvious setup," said Officer J. R. Deugenio, who wisely beat a retreat. A crowd of some 75 to 100 people gathered, and bottles and rocks rained down on his patrol car before he could escape. He reported hearing four or five shots. Two similar incidents had occurred in the same neighborhood on Saturday, April 20. In each case an officer's car was pelted with rocks, sticks, and bottles, and he was forced to yield a prisoner. Houston Police Chief Elizabeth M. Watson ordered her cops not to enter the area, less than a mile west of downtown, without backup.

In Washington, D.C., on Sunday, May 5, a black female police officer attempted to arrest a Hispanic man who was drinking and unruly on a street in the Mount Pleasant area, heavily populated by recent Central American immigrants. The man drew a knife and advanced, the officer reported, whereupon she shot and severely wounded him. The rumor spread that he was dead, shot while handcuffed. A flashfire of violence erupted as hundreds of youths set fire to police cars, smashed windows, and looted. Washington's new mayor, Sharon Pratt Dixon, at first ordered police to disperse crowds but make no arrests. The second night, running gangs of youths fought a thousand policemen, burning and looting as they spread out. Mayor Dixon then declared a curfew and ordered arrests, whereupon the violence subsided. Police made 230 arrests in three days. City officials said no more than six hundred youths were involved and claimed a great triumph since no one died, in contrast to the 1968 riots, in which 13 people died. But merchants and residents in the area bitterly criticized the initial police inaction.

Mayor Dixon's no-arrest order precisely replicated the initial blunders of 1968. If other mayors and police chiefs follow her example, the nation will be in for a "long hot summer" indeed. For the lesson of history is plain: In riot situations, the earlier the police make arrests, and the more arrests they make, the lower will be the toll in life, limb, and property. And the cop on the street will not act decisively unless he feels he has the support of his superiors—principally his chief and mayor.

The social phenomenon is well documented, but the books lie on library shelves, dusted off only once a generation or so by mayoral or presidential commissions. We need only look at Atlanta in 1905; East St. Louis in 1917; Charleston, Chicago, Washington, Boston, and Knoxville in 1919; Harlem in 1935; Detroit in 1943; and Harlem to Watts to Washington and nearly everywhere else in 1964–68.

Moral Holiday

IN A nutshell: Riots begin when some set of social forces temporarily overwhelms or paralyzes the police, who stand by, their highly visible inaction signaling to the small percentage of teenaged embryonic psychopaths and hardened young adults that a moral holiday is under way. This criminal minority spearheads the car-burning, window-smashing, and bloodletting, mobbing such hate targets as blacks, or white merchants, or lone cops. Then the drawing effect brings out the large crowds of older men, and women and children, to share the Roman carnival of looting. Then the major killing begins: slow runners caught in burning buildings and—as

Mr. Methvin is the author of The Riot Makers: The Technology of Social Demolition, *published in 1970.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

civic forces mobilize—in police and National Guard gunfire.

The books are on the shelf: let the responsible authorities in city hall and police headquarters check them out.

The time to halt a riot is right at the start, by pinching off the criminal spearhead with precise and overwhelming force. The cops will usually be caught flat-footed (no pun intended) by the initial outbreak. But they need to spring into a pre-arranged mobilization that should always be as ready in every major city as the fire-department or hospital disaster-response program.

"We've thought up a great new federal program, Mr. President—all we have to do now is find a problem for it to solve!"

While Detroit Burned

IN THE worst urban riots of the 1960s—Watts, Newark, Detroit, and Washington—the police did nothing or next to it for the first several hours. Deaths and property destruction soared. Contrast what happened in Toledo 36 hours after Detroit's outburst.

There, five hundred young men began breaking windows along a six-block stretch. The fourth police cruiser arriving radioed: "Do you want us to observe?" That such a question should even have been asked was damning proof that Americans had let years of extreme court rulings and hysterical "police brutality" propaganda paralyze our last line of defense against criminal anarchy.

Yet in Toledo the answer snapped back steely and clear. Police Chief Tony Bosh happened to be monitoring the radio and he barked: *"Arrest every lawbreaker you can—and meet illegal force with legal force!"*

Just as quickly, Toledo's mayor requested and Ohio Governor James Rhodes called in five hundred National Guardsmen to stand behind police in reserve, with well-publicized orders to kill if necessary to maintain order. *They were never needed.* Toledo's police arrested 22 people (nine for possessing firebombs) in the first three hours. That was almost *triple* the number Detroit and Newark police arrested in the same period.

Chief Bosh laid out for a Senate committee the criminal records, "some as long as your arm," of the rioters jailed in his city's three-day eruption. Of the 126 adults a startling 105 had prior arrests, averaging six apiece. *Every single one* of the 22 young adults jailed in the first three hours had criminal records; they averaged only twenty years old and three prior arrests apiece. The twenty young men jailed on firebomb charges averaged four apiece.

The result of the quick arrest policy: Toledo's trouble hardly earned the name "riot." No one died—not one person, looter, policeman, or innocent bystander. The will that Toledo's civil authorities displayed, like a heavy rain on a kindling forest fire, made the difference between "incident" and "insurrection." They withdrew the one essential ingredient for a major riot: implied official permission for criminals and rowdies to coalesce and rebel.

As Santayana said, those who do not study history are condemned to repeat it. □

REASSESSMENT

WHERE DID THE CIA GO WRONG?

NICHOLAS EBERSTADT

OVER THE past four decades Western publications have recorded the progress of a vast and ongoing struggle. This is the struggle of our scholars and researchers to describe the Soviet economy. The USSR's emergence from World War II as a victor and great power, its early acquisition of nuclear weaponry, and its policy of hostility toward the United States and our allies all lent urgency to an already challenging intellectual task: to understand and explain the workings of an economic system fundamentally different from our own, and moreover masked from easy viewing by an officially enforced secrecy. It is probably safe to say that the U.S. Government's attempt to describe the Soviet economy has been the largest single project in social-science research ever undertaken. And the bulk of that work has been done by the CIA.

In recent years, nevertheless, the CIA's assessment of the Soviet economy has come increasingly under question. According to the CIA, for example, the Soviet economy is slightly over half as large as the American economy; per-capita consumption in the USSR is at roughly a third of the American level; and aggregate output grew by about two-fifths between 1975 and the late 1980s. To a growing chorus of critics, these estimates are all implausibly high.

A full review of the methods and practices the CIA uses in its Soviet economic estimates is a task far beyond the scope of this brief note. However, three general sorts of problems can be readily identified.

The first sort concerns the use of official Soviet statistics, whose short-

Mr. Eberstadt is a Visiting Fellow at the Harvard Center for Population Studies and a Visiting Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. This article is adapted from testimony given before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

comings are legion. All data involving official prices, for example, reflect priorities determined by the central government, which frustrates outside attempts to measure value added by Soviet economic activities. No less significant is the subordination of the country's statistical system to its central-planning process. In a highly politicized environment, the performance of managers and administrators is judged by the correspondence between the quotas required of them by the plan and the figures they submit on their units' achievements. Under such circumstances, it is by no means obvious that errors in reporting will offset one another, as statistical authorities typically presume.

U.S. Government analysts are surely cognizant of these qualifications. Yet very often the CIA's analysis seems to take Soviet figures at face value, or to employ them after making only minor adjustments.

The trouble with this approach is illustrated in Table I, which compares recent CIA estimates of meat and milk output for the Soviet Union and the United States. Since this comparison involves only volumes of physical output, it circumvents the valuation problem. One might therefore expect it to be intrinsically more reliable than estimates of national income or product.

Nonetheless, CIA estimates for Soviet meat production suggest that per-capita output for the country as a whole was nearly half again as high at the end of the 1980s than at the start of the 1970s—a conclusion that would probably come as a surprise to many Soviet citizens. By the late 1980s, according to these estimates, per-capita production of meat in the USSR was roughly the same as that in the United States during the Eisenhower era. Such a reading is rather out of keeping with the general impressions of both Western visitors and Soviet researchers.

CIA figures on milk production are even more astonishing. By these numbers, per-capita output of milk in the late 1980s was about two-fifths *greater* in the Soviet Union than in the United States. Though press reports and visitor accounts claim that milk was no longer regularly available in various urban areas in the USSR by that time, the CIA's estimates suggest the country was fairly swimming in it.

Skeptical visitors who return from the USSR remarking upon the dissonance between CIA estimates and their own perceptions are sometimes cautioned that they have viewed only an unrepresentative portion of Soviet society. However, if Western visitors are encouraged to visit showplace locales, their impressions of the availability of meat, milk, and other luxury items should be unduly *favorable*. And while the Soviet state may try to hide its most expensive efforts from public view, dissonance between estimate and impression in this case would seem to require vast secret stockpiles of milk and meat—perishable commodities not easily stored under the conditions that prevail in the Soviet Union.

Slow Learners

THE SIMPLEST explanation would be that the CIA was excessively credulous in accepting Soviet statistics. Such credulity also helps explain why analysts apparently overlooked the existence of a serious and longstanding deficit in the Soviet state budget until *after* it was officially announced by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1988.

Budget data and other financial figures, it is now officially admitted, were deliberately doctored for decades. Yet such official efforts at deception were by no means impenetrable. Almost a decade ago a study by an émigré researcher, Igor Birman, identified this secret budget deficit and calculated its magnitude. Birman's method involved a painstaking review of Soviet sources and an attention to statistical discrepancies. Unfortunately, the same objective skepticism does not always seem to be characteristic of the CIA's method.

A second set of problems concerns the method by which the CIA values Soviet output. Until 1989, for example, published CIA estimates indicated that overall productivity in the Soviet economy had been falling steadily throughout the 1970s and through most of the 1980s. Yet at the same time, Agency estimates indicated a steady, even respectably rapid, increase in per-capita consumption in the USSR (see Table II).

It is not immediately obvious how one would reconcile such disparate readings. If long-term productivity trends were negative, one might nevertheless, in theory, increase per-capita consumption through radical reallocation of resources toward the consumer. According to CIA estimates, however, the share of the Soviet economy devoted to consumption was no higher in 1980 than it had been in 1960. (Indeed, it was said to be slightly lower.) One might reconcile this paradox by supposing a concerted structural shift for nonconsumption resources into "investment" and away from all other uses. Yet for such an arithmetical solution to be plausible, one would have to posit a vast redirection of resources away from the Soviet armed forces between 1960 and 1980—a proposition completely at odds with what was reported in the West (and is now grudgingly conceded in Moscow).

A simpler explanation would be methodological error. If the CIA's method relied upon systematically inadequate deflators—if, in other words, inflation in the USSR was not fully taken into account—then its computations

Table I

CIA Estimates of Meat and Milk Production

	1960	1970	1980	1988
Meat	*Total Output (Million Metric Tons)*			
U.S.	12.8	22.5	24.2	27.2
USSR	8.7	12.3	15.0	19.3
	Per-Capita Output (Kilograms)			
U.S.	71	110	106	112
USSR	41	51	53	67
Milk	*Total Output (Million Metric Tons)*			
U.S.	53.7	53.3	58.3	65.2
USSR	61.7	83.0	90.9	106.4
	Per-Capita Output (Kilograms)			
U.S.	297	260	266	265
USSR	288	342	341	372

Source: Derived from CIA, *Handbook of Economic Statistics, 1989*, pp. 64,44–45, 23.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Table II

CIA Estimates on Various Aspects Of the Soviet Economy

	1961 to 1965	1966 to 1970	1971 to 1975	1976 to 1980	1981 to 1985	1987
Aggregate Factor Productivity (percentage change per year)	0.3	0.8	–1.2	–1.3	–1.1	–1.9
Per-Capita Consumption (percentage change per year)	2.5	5.0	3.0	2.0	NA	0.7
	1960	**1970**	**1975**	**1980**	**1985**	**1987**
Consumption as Per Cent of GNP	54	51	53	53	54	54

Source: CIA, *Handbook of Economic Statistics, 1988*, pp. 62, 63, 65.

could have simultaneously exaggerated the decline in Soviet productivity *and* the increase in the country's levels of per-capita consumption. In a system like the Soviet Union's, where prices do not necessarily reflect scarcity, inflation is of course rather difficult to measure. Over a period of decades, even a relatively small annual underestimate can introduce consequential distortions. And it is commonly thought that the pace of inflation in the USSR has quickened during the past 15 years.

A third problem pertains to what might be called the estimates' robustness.

In the social sciences, as in the natural sciences, hypotheses and calculations are ordinarily exposed to tests in which they are challenged, and potentially refuted. The CIA's estimates for Soviet economic performance do not appear to have been rigorously exposed to such external challenges. However, various data seem implicitly to challenge them.

Mortality data provide one example.

Table III

Age-Standardized Mortality Rates

(Deaths per 100,000 population, WHO "European Model" Age Structure)

	Male	Female
USSR (1987)	1,525	874
Argentina (1985)	1,241	810
Chile (1987)	1,189	797
Costa Rica (1988)	1,183	768
Mexico (1986)	1,200	872
Uruguay (1988)	1,229	783

Note: Figures rounded to nearest digit.
Source: World Health Organization, *World Health Statistics Annual 1989* (Geneva: WHO, 1989), pp. 388–394.

As is now well known, age-specific mortality for many Soviet cohorts rose very substantially between the mid 1960s and the mid 1980s—indeed, so substantially that life expectancy at birth registered a decline for both men and women. (Such demographic trends, one may note, are inherently easier to measure and validate than most economic trends.) By the late 1980s, according to data compiled by the World Health Organization, the USSR's mortality levels were higher than those of some Latin American countries (see Table III).

A population's mortality level bears some relation to its economic circumstances. Other things being equal, one would expect a population in which per-capita consumption was increasing to enjoy general improvements in life expectancy as well. And to the extent that "human capital" figures in the economic process, deterioration of public health—and especially deterioration in the health of the working-age population—should constrain output. Yet, according to the 1989 edition of the CIA's *Handbook of Economic Statistics*, for example, Soviet per-capita output in 1988 was over three and a half times that of Argentina, and over four times that of Mexico. To my knowledge, no explanation of this discrepancy has been volunteered.

The CIA's estimates for Soviet-bloc economies are challenged further by revelations since 1989 in Eastern and Central Europe. In the 1989 *Handbook of Economic Statistics*, per-capita output in East Germany for 1988 is placed at roughly seven-eighths of the West German level. Such an estimate is utterly fanciful, as what we have learned since the opening of the Berlin Wall makes clear.

Even before *"die Wende,"* however, CIA estimates of East German economic performance were seriously at variance with those produced in West Germany. The German Institute for Economic Research (DIW) has been studying East Germany intensively since the 1950s, and is widely regarded as authoritative. According to a study it presented in 1987, output per worker in the early 1980s was only half as high in East Germany as in West Germany; even allowing for its higher labor-force-participation rates, per-capita output in East Germany was said to be no more than three-fifths West Germany's level. Since then, as much more information has become available, West German researchers have been revising their estimates—downward. The DIW's most recent figures place East Germany's GNP per capita in 1989 at only 48 per cent of the West German level—barely half what CIA figures would suggest.

Memo to the Director

IN SUM, numerous questions can be raised about the accuracy and reliability of the official U.S. assessment of the Soviet economy. These questions are sufficiently central that they might properly invite more intensive and comprehensive review—an early task for the new Director of Central Intelligence.

Whatever such a review might determine, it might at least be prudent to consider some of the potential implications of mismeasurement of Soviet performance. These would bear upon at least three areas of policy concern.

The first relates to the USSR's military posture. CIA estimates, of course, indicate that the Soviet economy is highly militarized. With a "military burden" reckoned at 15 to 17 per cent of national output, the USSR would seem to be operating on a semi-war footing (like the European powers in the years just before World War II). Alternative denominators for the Soviet economy, by contrast, might place the USSR's "military burden" at 20 to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

30 per cent of national output during the 1970s and 1980s. Such a level would be consonant with full war mobilization; in 1942, for example, U.S. military expenditures equaled roughly 21 per cent of national output.

The distinction is not trivial. Understanding an adversary's intentions is no less essential than understanding his capabilities. If Soviet authorities in fact committed their economy to financing something like a full war mobilization that lasted for decades, that decision in itself is extraordinarily significant.

A second area relates to Mikhail Gorbachev's campaign for *perestroika*. If the Soviet economy were indeed muddling along with the slow but steady growth estimated by the CIA (roughly 2 per cent a year during the 1980s) during the "years of stagnation" before Gorbachev's rise to power, the notion that *perestroika* and attendant international policies were initially propelled by "New Thinking" seems quite plausible. If, on the other hand, Soviet circumstances were more dire than CIA assessments indicated, one would not need to posit "New Thinking" to account for Gorbachev's policy changes. Necessity alone could explain them.

Soviet Crackup?

FINALLY, for the future, while the CIA's assessment depicts a Soviet economy that is manifestly inefficient and burdened by military expenditure, it nonetheless seems to suggest that the Soviet system is sustainable. Steady if lackluster growth does not ordinarily presage systemic crisis. On that basis, Western policymakers would have to judge the probability of a major dislocation in the Soviet economy in the foreseeable future to be rather low.

But other forecasts of Soviet economic performance are easier to reconcile with Soviet accounts of pervasive shortage and systemic decay. Such assessments might leave policymakers less surprised, and less unprepared, if they eventually find themselves forced to cope with events precipitated by economic instability in the USSR—or by the collapse of the Soviet economy itself. □

OPEN LETTERS

TOUCH SWORDS

Dear Mr. Sobran:

For a good writer, you make a sorry case for your clearly cherished conviction that the works of William Shakespeare were not written by the provincial glover's son whose name they bear. You join an earnest band who believe not just that Shakespeare didn't write them, but that he *couldn't* have written them, citing how little is known of his education, experience of the world, and private life. "*Shouldn't* have" is what they really mean. William Shakespeare is simply unfit.

Your choice of the 17th Earl of Oxford as a more appropriate author of probably the finest creative achievement in history is puzzling. There are, curiously, more than fifty other claimants to this distinction, some of whom, unlike Oxford and Queen Elizabeth, were at least professional writers.

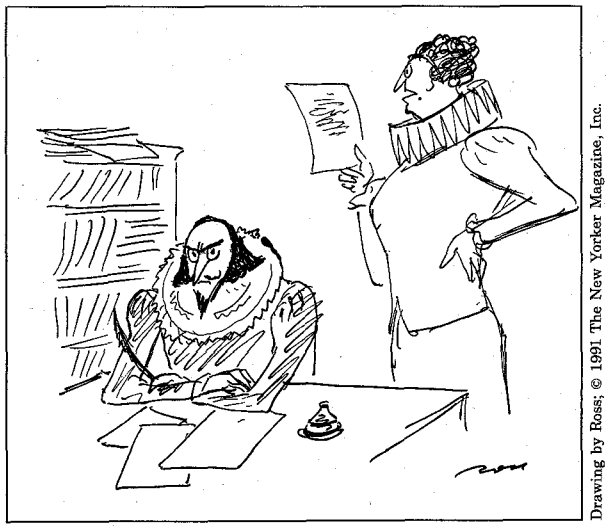
Claremont College recently completed a three-year computer-driven battery of tests to determine whether any of the 27 most-mentioned candidates for the mantle of the Bard of Avon actually matched Shakespeare's stylistic peculiarities. None does. Modal analyses of the work of each, using pattern-recognition techniques borrowed from radar to measure the incidence of hyphenated compound words, relative clauses, open lines, and feminine endings, disqualified everyone tested.

You disdain such an approach, pointing out instead what a dashing, well-traveled, and altogether admirable fellow Oxford was. The Queen and Oxford's family would have been "scandalized" to know he'd written works of genius, you say. Why? Elizabeth's father, Henry VIII, published at least one book and wrote music and songs for court masques; her successor, James I, sponsored the first production of *Macbeth* mounted indoors, at court.

You quote Shakespeare rather warily, setting a dozen or so phrases and words from the plays against scraps of Oxford's letters which (wonder of wonders) use the very same words. "Grass doth grow" / "Grass grows," "Decked with pearls" / "Decked with diamonds," "ring dolefully" / "rings the doleful knell"—and so forth. You could find the same words in a report from the Office of Management and Budget, or a high-schooler's term paper. This is thin stuff, sir.

You deal with the plays themselves only glancingly, avoiding the fact that many, including four of the five tragedies and the Sonnets, are dated after Oxford's death. Are we to conclude that this prominent nobleman wrote 36 plays and a wealth of poetry in the last dozen years of his life, arranged to have them produced and published anonymously and largely posthumously, and did not preserve one page of this glorious work, nor leave behind one note to claim his authorship for posterity? *Why?*

Also, *How?* Did he smuggle them into the theater in disguise, or was Shakespeare a willing ghost—which gets us back to *Why?* The record of Shakespeare's life is meager because he was a commoner. Without a title, men lived and died in quiet obscurity then, unless they got in trouble. Shakespeare was just the par-



Drawing by Ross; © 1991 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

"Good, but not immortal."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

venu player from the country you describe, scribbling away on the South Bank and turning out the sixteenth-century equivalent of Movies of the Week. It took the richness of the middle plays for London to realize his true size. The world began to catch on only after his death, when Heminge and Condell published the Folio, prefaced by praise from his fellows. (They did *not* ignore him, as you state.)

Mr. Sobran, you have hold of the wrong end of the elephant. You're right on one point: it's indeed incredible that Shakespeare could have written the plays. It's even more incredible that anyone *else* could have written them, most especially a non-writer with no experience of the theater whose public identity would've made anonymity impossible, as well as pointless.

You assume Shakespeare's ignorance of Italy, though you have no evidence of this. We *know* he was ignorant of psychiatry, since it hadn't been invented, but his insight into the human condition perfectly corresponds to its tenets. They call this genius, and it springs where it's planted. Like Mozart and Michelangelo, Shakespeare is beyond explanation. An Everest, he's simply *there*.

As a writer, you misread Shakespeare as academics do—you treat him as a writer. I know, there he is on the page—but that isn't where he lives, or where the plays live. Shakespeare leaps alive in air, in the spoken *sound* of his words. Only actors really understand this, though audiences sense it subliminally, in performance. When you're redacting the plays in rehearsal, you make the changes in terms of the sound as much as the meaning. Also the pauses.

That's what Shakespeare did as actor/manager. His plays loom so massively in the world because of his sublime gift, but it was a poet/player's gift. He created those men and women to live on a stage, seen in light and sudden dark, heard in cries and whispers. Exploring them there reveals more than a lifetime in a library can. I promise you, at least one of the great soliloquies was scrawled on the back of a tavern tab while Dick Burbage stood waiting on stage, hungry for something better to say. No earl that ever breathed could have produced a word of it in his study.

When I was adapting *Antony and Cleopatra* for a film, fearing the outrage of scholars over some radical redactions I'd made, I asked Laurence Olivier's advice. "Do what you think he would've done, laddie," he said. "They none of them f---ing know." Should you find this a massive impertinence, I remain respectfully,

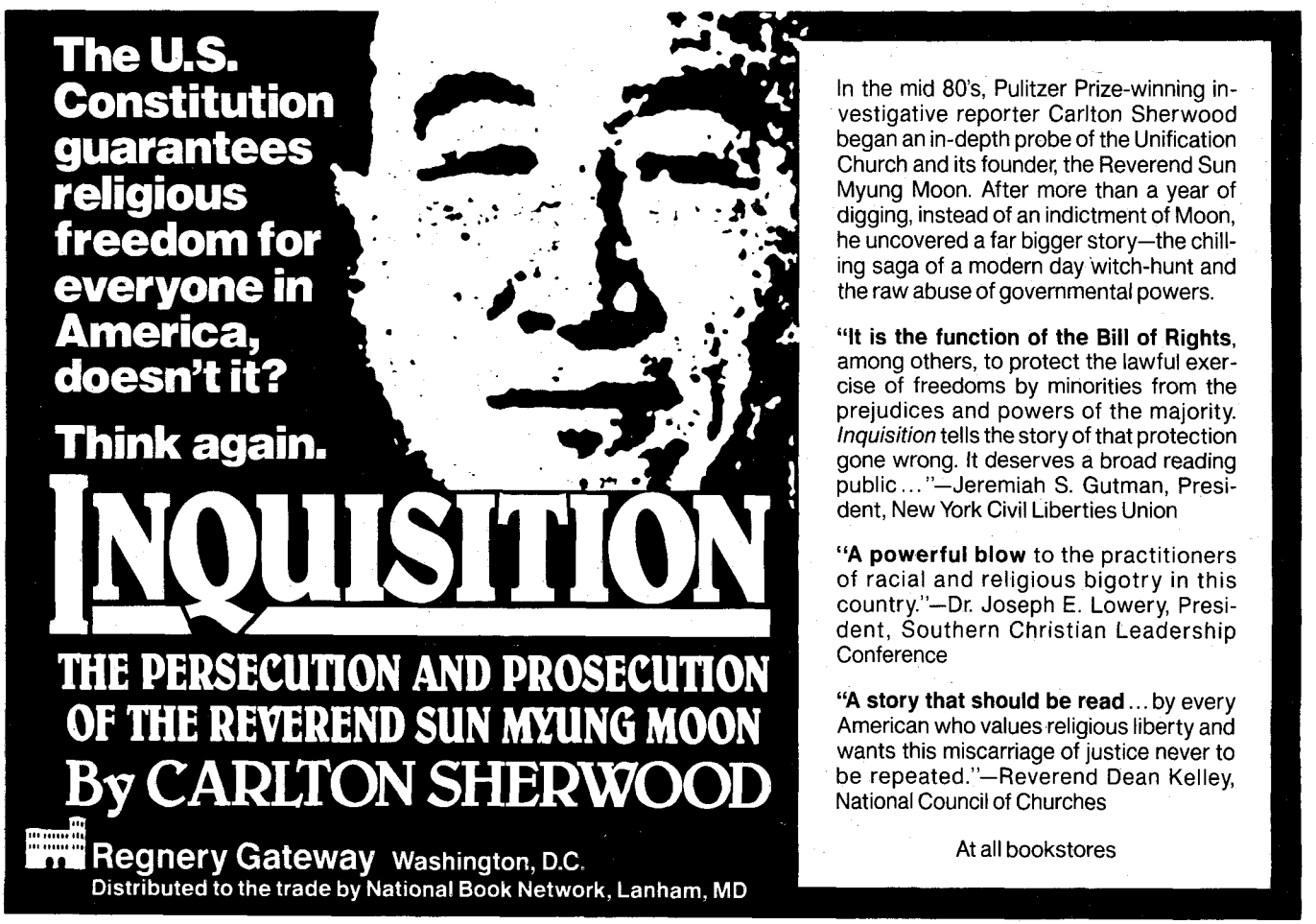
—Charlton Heston
Player

Mr. Sobran Replies

Dear Mr. Heston:

Careful! Even a splendid actor mustn't assume he has a pipeline to Shakespeare. *All* our knowledge is inferential, and much of what we think we know dissolves under scrutiny. Until six years ago I too was certain that "Shakespeare" was Will of Stratford (whose name was usually

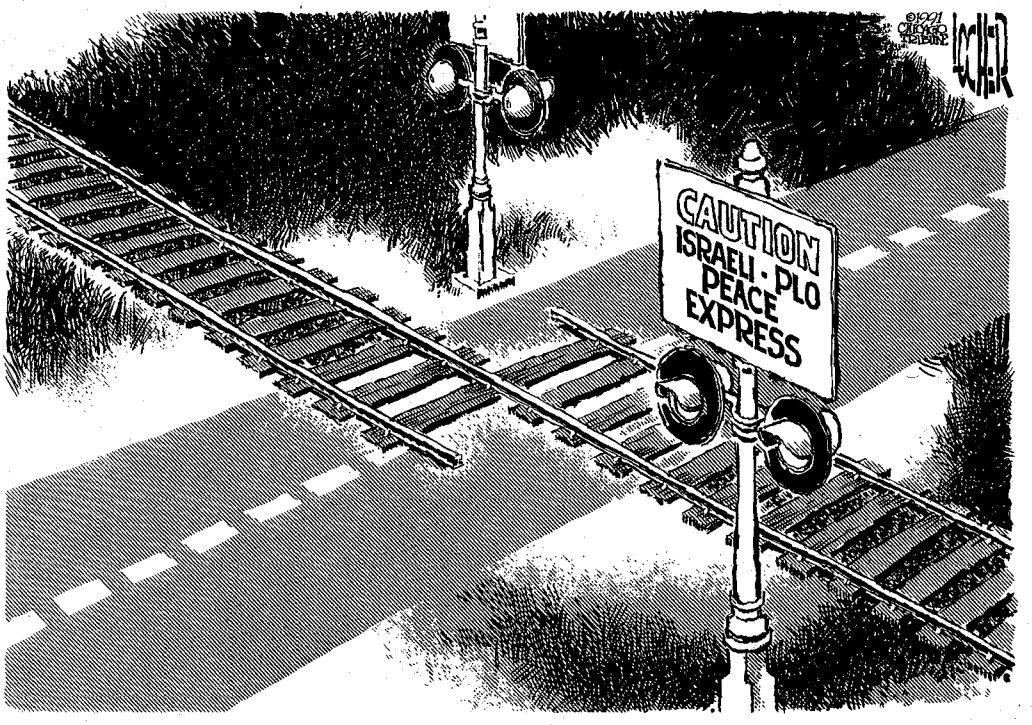
(Continues on page 53)


The U.S. Constitution guarantees religious freedom for everyone in America, doesn't it?
Think again.
INQUISITION
THE PERSECUTION AND PROSECUTION OF THE REVEREND SUN MYUNG MOON
By CARLTON SHERWOOD
Regnery Gateway Washington, D.C.
Distributed to the trade by National Book Network, Lanham, MD
In the mid 80's, Pulitzer Prize-winning investigative reporter Carlton Sherwood began an in-depth probe of the Unification Church and its founder, the Reverend Sun Myung Moon. After more than a year of digging, instead of an indictment of Moon, he uncovered a far bigger story—the chilling saga of a modern day witch-hunt and the raw abuse of governmental powers.
"It is the function of the Bill of Rights, among others, to protect the lawful exercise of freedoms by minorities from the prejudices and powers of the majority. *Inquisition* tells the story of that protection gone wrong. It deserves a broad reading public..."—Jeremiah S. Gutman, President, New York Civil Liberties Union
"A powerful blow to the practitioners of racial and religious bigotry in this country."—Dr. Joseph E. Lowery, President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
"A story that should be read... by every American who values religious liberty and wants this miscarriage of justice never to be repeated."—Reverend Dean Kelley, National Council of Churches
At all bookstores

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

helo

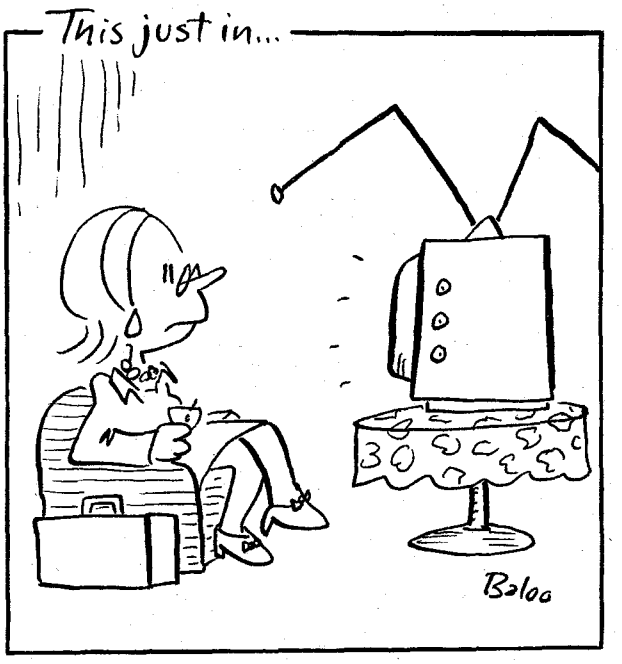
© 1991 Mal Ent., Inc.



Green Scene

Spring tiptoes in and taps my shoulder,
Murmuring I'm not one day older
Than I was a spring ago. . . .
Silly season! Yet, y'know,
Seeing spring as I perceive it
(Lovely liar!), I *believe* it!

MAUREEN CANNON



"Please stand by—our anchorman is sulking."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MACNELLY Chicago Tribune
DEMOCRATIC PARTY
PRESIDENTIAL
STUD FARM
GEORGE
JIMMY
FRITZ
DUKE
SURE, BUSINESS IS OFF,... BUT IT'S A GLAMOROUS LIFE. - SO HOW COME NO ONE WANTS TO GET INTO THIS LINE OF WORK ANYMORE?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nearer to God

PAUL JOHNSON

BEETHOVEN was a key figure in the birth of the modern because he first established and popularized the notion of the artist as universal genius, as a moral figure in his own right—indeed, as a kind of intermediary between God and Man. His friend Bettina von Arnim said he "treated God as an equal." He seems to have felt that, by virtue of his creative powers, he had some kind of direct contact with the Deity, and that he, as a great artist, was an anointed one, like the prophets in the Bible. He was the first to assert that the artist was the arbiter of public morals, that he spoke for "suffering humanity." In 1821 Shelley, in his *Defense of Poetry*, called the poet "the unacknowledged legislator of the world," but Beethoven was already making the claim twenty years before and, what is more, on behalf of the musician, then a lowly species. Poets had been honored since the days of Homer, but even at the end of the eighteenth century, musicians were minor cathedral functionaries, or low- or middle-ranking servants in the households of the great. In 1781 Mozart had been placed below the valets in the Archbishop of Salzburg's house. Antonio Salieri, the court Kapellmeister in Vienna and arbiter of its music from 1788 for nearly forty years, never pushed himself socially; he belonged to the old world. Salvatore Cherubini, the musical boss of Paris, called his younger colleague Hector Berlioz "a savage" because he entered the Conservatoire through the door reserved for the gentry. Such men might be proud of their art, but they knew their place.

Beethoven would have none of such subservience. There was an important episode at Teplitz in 1812 when Beethoven lectured Germany's greatest poet, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe—a pioneer of romanticism who nonetheless belonged to the old world—on the true status of the artist. He said that Goethe should not hesitate to be rude to the great, as Beethoven was to his pupil the Archduke Rudolf. He added: "I told them that they might be able to hang a decoration round a man's neck but that this did not make them any better than the next man. They could make a privy councilor or a minister but they could not make a Goethe or a Beethoven. Therefore they must be taught to respect what they cannot make and are far from being themselves—it does them good." At this point—the two men were walking in the public gardens—the Empress of Austria and various dukes approached with all their attendants. Beethoven turned to Goethe: "Now keep your arm linked in mine, they must make way for us, not us for them." Goethe was flustered and embarrassed; he withdrew his arm, took off his hat in respect, and stepped aside. Beethoven, his arms crossed, walked straight through the crowd of dukes, "only moving his hat a little." The dukes parted to make room for him "and all of them greeted him kindly." At the end of the path Beethoven waited for Goethe, who had been bowing deeply. "I have waited for you," he said, "because I honor and revere you as you deserve. But you have done too much honor to those there."

BEETHOVEN got away with this high line because public attitudes toward music were already changing. The traditional aesthetic view of music was low: music appealed only to the senses. Indeed the kind of romantic music Beethoven was producing had its roots in what the eighteenth century called sentimentality, contrasting with the rationalism of serious life; its soft, quivering tone was thought to embody *Seelenlaut*, the "sound of the soul," which Jean-Jacques Rousseau said was the source of all music. Immanuel Kant, summing up eighteenth-century aesthetic theory, admitted that music could "move the mind in a variety of ways, and very intensely," but its impact lasted only for a moment, since "it speaks by means of mere sensations without concepts and so does not, like poetry, leave anything over for reflections." Yet from about 1800 music was seen as increasingly significant because it heightened self-awareness, now regarded as desirable. As Hegel put it, music "made the listener more clearly aware of the workings of the inner self." He added: "The special characteristic relating the abstract inner consciousness most closely to music is *emotion*, the self-extending subjectivity of the ego." Emotion, then, created forms of knowledge as serious as reason, and music, as a key to it, became more serious, too.

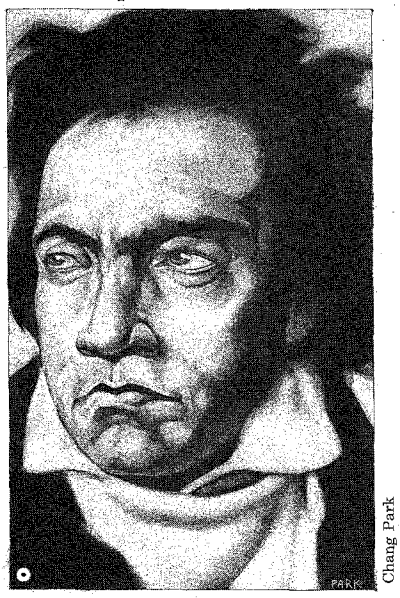
Besides, music was increasingly used to enhance serious meaning. Poetry, including most notably Goethe's own, was being turned into songs, cantatas, operas, and even symphonies. It was characteristic of this new approach that Beethoven crowned his greatest symphony, the Ninth in D Minor, with a setting of Schiller's "Ode to Joy." Old rationalists like Goethe might not like this—when Schubert sent him a collection of his settings and asked permission to dedicate it to him, he never even got a reply. But the public was enthusiastic.

Great cultural revolutions come about not just through innumerable invisible forces working in the

Mr. Johnson is the author of numerous books, including Modern Times *and* Intellectuals. *This essay is adapted from* The Birth of the Modern: World Society 1815–1830, *to be published in June by HarperCollins.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

background, but by the actions of giant figures in the foreground. Beethoven changed the content of music. Eighteenth-century opera was largely about sexual intrigue—among Mozart's operas, Beethoven characteristically approved only of *The Magic Flute*. His own *Fidelio* shifts the ground fundamentally to the brotherhood of man and the glory of fidelity. His Fifth Symphony in C Minor, composed in 1807, operates at the highest level of human intellect and emotion. He changed the forms, too, dramatically, to handle the increased *gravitas* of the content, thus provoking fury as well as frantic applause. When the Ninth Symphony was first performed in Vienna on May 7, 1824, and some in the audience burst into cheers for the fifth time, the police commissioner stood and shouted: "Silence!" Hector Berlioz tells us that at the first Paris performance of the C-Sharp Minor Quartet (Opus 131), two hundred people attended, of whom 90 per cent left halfway through: "Shortly the chaos seemed to unwind and just when the public's patience gave out, mine revived and I fell under the spell of the composer's genius. . . . Here is music then which repels almost all those who hear it and which, among a few, produces extraordinary sensations."



Chang Park

Beethoven himself reinforced the controversy his work aroused by the high claims he made. If Bettina von Arnim is to be believed, his music conversation was spattered with key words: *boundless*, *eternal*, *infinite*, *pure sensation*, *passion*, *power*, *ecstasy*, *excitement*, *the spirit*, *the senses*, *enthusiasm*, *incomprehensible*. He said: "Music is a greater revelation than the whole of wisdom and philosophy." "I know well that God is nearer to me in my art than to others, I consort with Him without fear, I have always recognized and understood Him." Or again, using the electrical metaphor artists were so attached to around 1815: "Music is the electric soil in which [the seed of] the spirit lives, thinks, invents. Philosophy is a striking of music's electrical spirit. . . . All that is electrical stimulates the mind to music, flowing, surging creation. I am electrical by nature."

It is important to grasp that Beethoven was not consciously trying to turn music into a secular religion. He was neither agnostic nor atheist, deist nor Unitarian, but a Roman Catholic. It is significant, however, that he was a warm admirer of Father Johan Michael Sailer, the first prominent churchman to understand what romanticism was about and adapt it to the religious purpose. He studied Chateaubriand's great book, *Le Génie du christianisme*, and derived from it the notion that a man who is conscious of his human dignity can accept as real and true only those elements in the traditional body of faith that he has made his own, by his intellect or by his inner feelings.

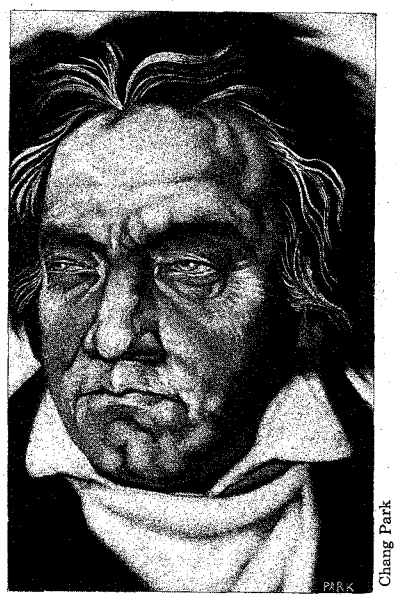
Strictly speaking, this subjective approach to faith, in orthodox Catholic eyes, is a heresy known as Fideism. But it was becoming the most powerful element in the rebirth of religion now taking place all over Europe, and toward the end of the 1820s it was to receive endorsement at the highest intellectual level in John Henry Newman's philosophy of religion. Indeed Sailer's view that the Church was an organic development, just as romantics believed poetry grew from nature, was to be a key element in Newman's faith. Beethoven seems to have seen Sailer as the only kind of cleric who could keep him within the Church, and three of Sailer's devotional works were found among the composer's books at his death. Equally Sailer loved Beethoven's music, as a means whereby men came to God. But it cannot be denied that, for some—and for an increasing number as the decades went by—the new kind of transcendent music Beethoven wrote, and the new importance he gave to music in the intellectual and moral cosmos, did constitute a secular substitute for religion: there was a new faith, and Beethoven was its prophet. It was no accident that, about this time, new concert halls were being given temple-type façades, thus exalting the status of the symphony and chamber music (as opposed to the opera). New theaters were Greek, churches Gothic, museums, Egyptian—but the concert hall was the setting for the new high priest, the composer.

SUPERFICIALLY, Beethoven was an unlikely man to bring about this revolution. He was born in 1770, his father a run-of-the-mill court musician, his mother a chambermaid who died of tuberculosis when he was 16. He was trotted out as an infant prodigy at age six, began full-time work as a performer at age ten, and had no non-musical schooling thereafter. He could not even multiply, adding up endlessly instead—one reason he got into such a mess over money. He read a lot—Homer, Schiller, Shakespeare, Goethe—but was well described by the German historian Albert Leitzman as "the last of the hermit autodidacts of genius." His health was wretched, and its progressive ravages can be traced in over fifty portraits. In the nineteenth century it was widely believed that Beethoven was the victim of venereal disease or alcoholism or both. In fact his troubles were not of his making. By age 21 he was already suffering from chronic colic and diarrhea, accompanied by intermittent fevers and septic abscesses.

His deafness first appeared when he was 27. It is now diagnosed as otosclerosis, the cartilage rim of the opening of the inner ear turning into bone, thus immobilizing the ossicle whose base fits in the opening and transmits the sound waves—quite common and usually hereditary. There are periods of quiescence but the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

disease is progressive. By the end of his twenties Beethoven was hearing incessant noises, ringing and whistling, and suffering from ear- and headaches, especially in winter. Noises caused him intense distress; he stuffed his ears with cotton wool, and during the bombardment of Vienna in 1809 he covered his head with cushions. By 1805, at age 34, he could not hear the wind instruments in the *tutti*. By 1812 visitors had to shout. Five years later, he could no longer hear music at all and was effectively stone deaf. For his multiple ailments, he tried various treatments, including the notorious Brown's Treatment of Opposites, credited with killing more people than Bonaparte's wars. But most doctors would not handle him; he was too difficult. He refused to stick to a strict diet banning wines, spirits, coffee, and spices, and this may have made matters worse. His death, at age 57, seems to have been caused by the complications of jaundice, contracted seven years before. The autopsy revealed his liver to be in an appalling state. Modern diagnosis, however, suggests that he may have suffered from the specific form of immunopathic disease called systemic lupus erythematosus, which begins in early adulthood and becomes chronic (with intermissions), the symptoms including emotional instability, rashes, redness of face, rheumatism, and liver disease.



Chang Park

Beethoven, in short, was an increasingly sick man all his adult life, and his maladies determined his behavior. He gave vent to the rages of the chronic sufferer from stomach pains and the frustrations of the deaf composer. But by a supreme moral irony, his appalling conduct actually sanctified his status as an artistic genius and intermediary between the divine and the human. And that was a sign of the times. In an earlier age, society would have found Beethoven merely repulsive. He showed a lifelong determination to dominate his family. At 18 he had taken charge, having his father declared incompetent as an alcoholic. He tried to prevent the marriages of both his brothers, in each case declaring their wives immoral. When his brother Karl died in 1815 of tuberculosis, Beethoven insisted on an autopsy, accusing the widow of using poison. He then pursued her in the courts for five years, accusing her of theft and prostitution and unfitness to bring up his nephew, Karl. He got legal custody of the boy in 1816, and Karl became a pathetic prisoner of the composer's obsessive love, as his pleas in the Conversation Books reveal: "Will you let me out a little today? I need recreation." "I only want to go to my room." "I am not going out. I only want to be alone a little." The perhaps foreseeable result was that Karl tried to kill himself with a pistol in 1826, later telling the magistrates: "I have become worse because my uncle insisted on making me better."

Beethoven's overbearing selfishness was compounded by his failure to marry and the loneliness it bred—"Oh God," he wrote in anguish, "may I find her at last, the woman who may strengthen me in virtue, who is permitted to be mine." But no one was willing to be Beethoven's wife. Few would even be his servants. An early biographer, Anton Schindler, recounted an episode in August 1820: "As soon as we entered we were told that, in the morning, both of Beethoven's maidservants had run away—at some time after midnight there had been a scene which disturbed everyone in the house because, tired of waiting for their master, both had fallen asleep and his dinner had been spoilt. In the drawing room, behind a locked door, we heard the Master singing, howling, and stamping over the fugue for the *Credo* [Mass in D]. After listening to this almost gruesome sound for some time, we were just about to leave when the door opened and Beethoven stood before us, a wild look on his face, almost terrifying. . . . 'A fine household!' he said. 'They've all run away and I have had nothing to eat since yesterday afternoon!' "

Beethoven seems to have quarreled with everyone sooner or later. He accused virtually everyone with whom he had business dealings of dishonesty. The truth was rather different. Whether deliberately or through forgetfulness and muddle, he cheated most of his publishers. Letters he wrote in 1822 show him claiming to be at work on three different Masses and promising them to at least five publishers, though he completed only the Mass in D, and that he sold to a sixth. Two of the original five were later accused of "playing a trick" or "playing a Jewish trick on me."

From about 1816 on, often servantless and neglected, he was seen out walking in old clothes, his hat on the back of his head, singing or rather roaring—he composed on his walks—striding down the fashionable Helenethal, forcing even the emperor and the empress to stand aside, or in the country lanes, waving his arms, making a "barking" noise, and frightening the cattle, with dogs snapping at his heels and boys throwing stones at him. In 1819 he was spotted composing at a window, having forgotten to put on his trousers; the next year he was mistaken for a tramp, arrested, and put in the cells, and had to be rescued by friends.

SUCH behavior, far from rendering Beethoven disreputable in the eyes of the musical world—or at any rate, its more advanced echelons—made him more fascinating. These were the eccentricities of genius—the follies, agonies, and hallmarks of a man's titantic struggles with the forces of creation, his divine madness. There was also a strong element of pity. A 17-year-old soprano, Wilhelmine Schröder, described his last appearance as a conductor, on November 3, 1822, trying to direct the orchestra and singers in his *Fidelio*,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"with a bewildered face and unearthly, inspired eyes, waving his baton back and forth with violent gestures. . . . If he thought it should be *piano* he crouched down almost under the conductor's desk, and if he wanted *forte* he jumped up with the strangest gesture, uttering uncanny sounds"; then suddenly breaking down, he shouted "Out, quick!," ran home, flung himself on a sofa, and covered his face with his hands.

Despite his miseries, Beethoven often laughed, sometimes joked, was kind—for instance to the child Franz Liszt, though as a rule he hated infant prodigies—and was always impressive composing. This was accompanied by "excessive washing" and, wrote Gerhard von Breuning, when Beethoven had been sitting at table for a long time writing music, "he would hurry to the washbasin and pour jugs of cold water over his heated head"—vast quantities of water would thus pour onto the floor, then down through the boards onto the neighbors below, causing an uproar.

Thus, in countless anecdotes was built up the composite picture of the archetype martyr to art, the new kind of secular saint who was taking over from the old Christian calendars as a focus of public veneration. Rousseau had started the cult of the divine genius in the 1770s and 1780s, but he had appealed to a comparatively narrow circle of aristocratic admirers. Beethoven, too, had begun his career in the world of patronage. But he had broken out of it decisively into the much wider universe of a European, indeed a world, mass market of music consumers, fed by commercial publishers, public concert halls, and impresarios, all capable of rewarding a composer far more handsomely than even the most munificent princely sponsor. Beethoven, as much by his personality and genius-image as by his astonishing works, played a major role in creating this new commercial market, but was perhaps too old and ill, in the post-1815 period, to exploit it fully, as one final account bears witness.

Beethoven much admired Karl Maria von Weber's *Der Freischütz* and so was glad to see the composer, but Weber's description, given in his life by his son Max, was full of compassion: Beethoven's room was "dreary, almost sordid," "in the greatest disorder: music, money, clothes lay on the floor, linen in a heap on the unclean bed, the open grand piano was covered in thick dust, and broken coffee cups lay on the table." Beethoven's hair was "dense, grey, standing straight up, quite white in places, the forehead and skull extraordinarily wide and rounded, high as a temple, the nose square like a lion, the mouth nobly formed and soft, the chin broad with those marvelous dimples, formed by two jawbones capable of cracking the hardest nuts." In the midst of "a broad, pock-marked face" and beneath "the bushy, sullenly contracted eyebrows," Weber noticed small, shining eyes "fixed benevolently" on him. But when he asked if Beethoven ever considered going on tour, the old man made a hopeless gesture of trying to play the piano and shouted, "Too late!" □

Perilous Crusades

ERNEST LEFEVER

JOSHUA MURAVCHIK's treatise calling for America to fulfill its destiny by "exporting democracy" has added fuel to the spirited debate over America's purpose in the post-cold-war era. The continuing ambiguity of U.S. policy in Iraq has further sharpened the question of what America should do in other people's countries. (What, if anything, should Washington do to depose Saddam Hussein or to establish an autonomous Kurdish state?) The debate is not new. It is rooted in the protracted dispute between interventionists and non-interventionists, "idealists" and "realists," and combinations of these slippery camps, each claiming a harmonious blend of realism and the American dream.

Muravchik presents a clear and detailed case for an updated Wilsonian vision. He believes that America should export democracy all over the Eurasian land mass and to the uttermost parts of the earth, and that this mission will serve our national interests and fulfill our moral destiny. He believes that a world hungering for freedom is ripe for democracy. "Democracy in China and the USSR may not be easy to achieve, but it is not much more farfetched than the idea of democracy in India or Japan had been at one time." In blunt fact, it is much more farfetched. India had a century and a half of British rule and Japan had Douglas MacArthur.

Exporting Democracy: Fulfilling America's Destiny, by Joshua Muravchik (AEI Press, 272 pp., $24.95)

Going beyond Henry Luce's American Century, he foresees a "Pax Americana unlike any previous peace, one of harmony, not of conquest . . . by virtue of the triumph of the humane idea born in the American experiment." He asserts that rich and powerful America has the political, economic, and moral resources to do the job. It also has the tools—foreign aid, the Voice of America, and the National Endowment for Democracy.

Few will take exception to Muravchik's view that we are an idealistic people who wish all peoples could enjoy the blessings of liberty. But many will take exception to his idea of American exceptionalism—that we have a unique responsibility to make the world over in our own image.

Muravchik's beguiling ideals keep bumping into uncomfortable realities, including the limits of ideology, the perils of crusades, and the irascibility of human nature.

William Graham Sumner said: "If you want war, nourish a doctrine," noting that doctrines driven by crusades become "frightful tyrants." Obviously, evil doctrines like Aryan supremacy lead to evil consequences, but seemingly benign doctrines like "manifest destiny" can also be dangerous. Is it not arrogant to attempt to impose

Mr. Lefever is a senior fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center and author of Ethics and United States Foreign Policy *(University Press of America).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

democracy on the people of another sovereign state in the absence of an occupation statute?

This doesn't mean that America cannot help to nudge history in a humane direction. U.S. foreign policy since World War II has done precisely that. Perhaps the single most telling contribution to freedom and human dignity has been our strategic-arms policy that prevented nuclear war and eventually forced Gorbachev to surrender both his medium-range missiles and Eastern Europe.

Muravchik overestimates the potential for democracy, not only in China and the USSR, but also in the Third World. He seems to see Asia, Africa, and Latin America through Wilsonian lenses. During my visits to some sixty Third World countries, I have seen little to suggest that democracy as we know it is about to take root. In most of the countries that he lists as democratic—India, Pakistan, the Philippines, Brazil, Botswana, and many others—the fledgling institutions for translating popular will into policy are fragile, and human rights are frequently violated. Their political culture is characterized by kinship groups that have little sense of responsibility for people outside their group. Corruption is rampant. Hardly fertile soil for pluralistic democracy.

Muravchik fails to make the crucial distinction between nation-building and state-building. A state can be quickly established by military conquest or even by fiat. In contrast, building a nation—a cohesive people with a common historical memory—takes generations. Most states in the world are not nation-states. They are artificial political structures attempting to rule diverse tribes and classes that have conflicting customs and interests.

The first task of any government is to govern, the second to govern justly, the third to govern democratically. Few Third World regimes are capable of the first two tasks, much less the third. To expect too much is to invite disillusionment and cynicism.

Muravchik may not suffer from the illusion of American omnipotence, but he may have a more serious illusion, that of American virtue. As states and peoples go, America has many virtues. But one of its virtues is, or should be, humility—a "city on a hill" serving as a quiet example rather than a noisy preacher or imperious crusader. George Will has called people who hold Muravchik's views "imperial conservatives" who "want America to do for the world what Lyndon Johnson's Great Society was supposed to do for America: fix it."

A more modest appreciation of what America can do in the vast external world is prompted not only by observable realities, but by the Judaeo-Christian understanding of human nature and history. Rejecting this tradition, Muravchik sides with the rational idealists who dream of a new world order, and against the historical realists who reject all religious and secular utopian schemes and note that Wilsonian expectations were not ratified by subsequent events. These realists insist that their achievement is limited by man's dogged resistance to drastic reconstruction. With this recognition of "original sin," they argue that perfect justice, freedom, and democracy are not universally achievable, though approximations of these lofty goals are not beyond human grasp. □

Objection Sustained

JAMES H. ANDREWS

Jennifer Lawson

I WISH I'd had this book in law school. Like my fellow students in first-year civil procedure, I spent agonizing hours trying to extract the "rules" from cases on jurisdiction, conflict of laws, discovery, etc. that had utterly irreconcilable outcomes. Now, 15 years too late, comes Walter Olson (a non-lawyer, natch) to pierce the fog. Listen up, law students: Forget about legal "principles." The answer to any exam question on long-arm statutes, forum shopping, choice of law, or "fishing expeditions" is: "Whatever facilitates verdicts for plaintiffs and inflates contingency fees for plaintiffs' attorneys."

The Litigation Explosion: What Happened When America Unleashed the Lawsuit, by Walter K. Olson (Dutton, 338 pp., $22.95)

Of course, Mr. Olson—a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute—has a bigger purpose than furnishing Cliff Notes for law students. He's out to expose the intellectual and procedural rot in what he aptly calls America's "litigation industry." As it has been said in other contexts, the scandal isn't what lawyers do illegally, it's what they do legally.

The backdrop for Olson's jeremiad is familiar. We all know that America's courts are gridlocked (in 1989 alone *a hundred million* new suits were filed in state courts). And we've seen reports about the litigation explosion's indirect costs in terms of raised insurance premiums, loss of product innovations owing to liability fears, and doctors who, on their lawyers' advice, either desist from certain practices (like delivering babies) or, conversely, pile on costly and often unnecessary tests and procedures. What's new in this book is the clearest explanation yet of why the legal system went haywire.

Americans' "litigiousness" is often implied to be a vestige of our frontier individualism, the brawling, stick-up-for-your-rights spirit that made the country great. Nonsense, says Olson. He attributes the litigation explosion to "entrepreneurial" lawyers who have turned America's courts into cash cows.

Of course, they first had to get rid of a few inconvenient professional

Mr. Andrews, a member of the New York bar, is assistant editorial-page editor of the Christian Science Monitor.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rules that discouraged lawsuits except by the implacably aggrieved, such as strictures against attorney advertising, solicitation ("ambulance chasing"), and bankrolling plaintiffs (champerty). Once upon a time the Lawyer's Prayer was: "Stir up great strife amongst Thy people, Lord, lest Thy servant perish." In our more secular age, however, lawyers have devised manifold ways to stir up great strife on their own initiative—such as the all-comers class-action lawsuit. They become, in Olson's phrase, cultivators of discontent.

Next the legal entrepreneurs had to vitiate long-honored procedural and evidentiary rules designed to limit the scope of lawsuits, to give defendants fair notice of the charges against them, and to protect, insofar as possible, the privacy and reputations of litigants. Such rules, because they made litigation somewhat more civilized, impeded the kind of legal warfare that achieves huge damage awards or settlements—the sorts of awards and settlements that make contingency-fee lawyers very, very wealthy.

Now, plaintiffs' lawyers couldn't change all these ancient rules and proscriptions on their own. They required the collaboration of judges and the intellectual firepower of law-school professors to pull off their lucrative revolution. Why were so many judges and legal scholars willing to aid and abet the profit-seeking revolutionaries, whether as "useful idiots" or eager fellow travelers? The reasons, Olson suggests, are sentiment and politics.

Since the 1950s, many judges and law professors have been swept up in a vague sympathy for the "disadvantaged"—i.e., not just the needy, but all employees, tenants, consumers, and, of course, minorities. This has manifested itself in a usually unspoken —though sometimes quite explicitly stated—preference for plaintiffs, especially if, by any stretch of the imagination, the plaintiffs could be portrayed as having less power, influence, or bargaining clout than their adversaries. This sentiment lends itself to a kind of politics of redistribution, but its beneficiaries were individual litigants rather than entire classes.

Where real politics, purposeful and hard-eyed, entered the litigation fray was in the articulation by legal scholars of what Olson calls the "invisible fist" theory. Under this theory, lawsuits are not, as was thought aforetime, necessary evils; rather, litigation is a positive force in the regulation of society, a means, through aggressive tactics and huge punitive damages, to right the wrongs of the rich and powerful and deter future depredations against common folk. Lawyers were inspired to become "private attorneys general," and if in the process they made a killing, so be it. It's not surprising that Ralph Nader is a staunch friend of the plaintiffs' bar, even though it aligns him against such consumer-benefiting innovations as no-fault auto insurance.

Olson's principal remedy for the litigation explosion is fee shifting. America is virtually the only country in which victorious litigants cannot recover attorneys' fees from the losers. Full two-way fee shifting would be a disincentive to many of the speculative suits now filed by plaintiffs egged on by lawyers, with nothing to lose. He also lauds recent efforts to sanction lawyers who file frivolous lawsuits.

Like most advocacy books, Olson's overstates its case in some respects. Olson goes too far in disparaging the procedural reforms that freed the American legal system from hidebound medieval practices which produced their own injustices, and in playing down some of the new kinds of harms inflicted on people in complex, high-tech societies, for which the law has struggled to find redress. He

Mortimer J. Adler

A chronicle and analysis of one of the enduring philosophical issues of our time

"While diverse, these six essays by the popular philosopher share a unifying theme: the merger of capitalism and socialism in a new democratic world society. Arguing that we are creating a society free of the 'have-nots,' Adler... admirably analyzes the importance of liberal education for citizenship, offers useful criticism of Robert Bork's strict constructionism, praises Lincoln's stance on human (natural) rights, evaluates recent events in Eastern Europe, and provides a trenchant critique of the existential misunderstandings about human nature... Recommended."
—*Library Journal*

Haves Without Have-Nots

Essays for the 21st Century on Democracy and Socialism

At all bookstores or call 1-800-323-7445 to place your credit card order

MACMILLAN PUBLISHING COMPANY
866 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10022

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

doesn't let on how far he would go in allowing people's injuries to go unremedied or their rights to go unvindicated in order to rein in legal abuses.

Nevertheless, Walter Olson has launched a cruise missile of a book straight into the heart of America's corrupted litigation system. Brimming with intelligence, smartly written, accessible to lawyer and layman alike, the book should strike a blow for much-needed legal reform. □

Grand Abstractions

GEOFFREY MORRIS

THE dismal performance of America's schools has been charted so often and so thoroughly that *Shut Up and Let the Lady Teach*, the sad story of a year in a Brooklyn school, leaves one depressed but not at all shocked.

By her own account, a bright and energetic Emily Sachar entered Walt Whitman Intermediate School hopeful and well prepared, but inevitably her enthusiasm collided with bureaucratic nonsense and appalling administrative and educational ineptitude.

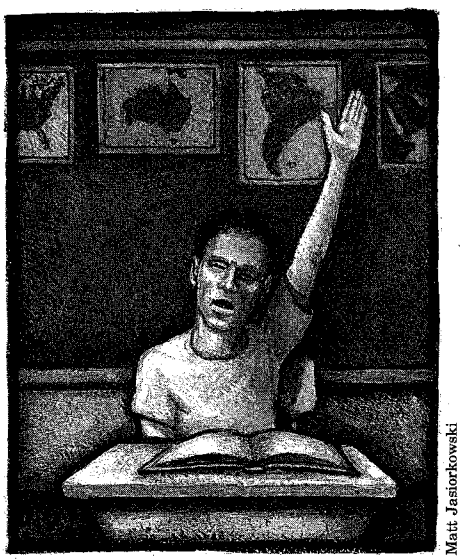
Shut Up and Let the Lady Teach: A Teacher's Year in a Public School, by Emily Sachar (Poseidon, 331 pp., $21.95)

The Classroom Crucible: What Really Works, What Doesn't, and Why, by Edward Pauly (Basic Books, 235 pp., $22.95)

Begin Here: The Forgotten Conditions of Teaching and Learning, by Jacques Barzun (University of Chicago Press, 222 pp., $24.95)

Halls were defaced by graffiti, floors strewn with litter. Desks were in short supply, and often lacked legs and tops. Class schedules were ill conceived, necessary school supplies non-existent. Even if there weren't teachers who told students that "preferred" is spelled "*per*ferred," or who showed up for class, coffee in hand, 15 minutes late (CPT—colored people's time—according to some black faculty), the situation would still have been hopeless. Learning hardly ever occurs at Walt Whitman.

On commencement day, Mrs. Sachar observed the banter and clamor of her students, admired the splendor of caps and gowns, but felt no sense of pride, for too many of the pupils moving on to high school could not read, write, or do simple mathematics. Months before, in discussing with Mrs. Sachar whether or not to pass a student whose test-score average was around forty, an assistant principal remarked: "It's up to you, but maybe you should pass him to encourage him." At Walt Whitman, illusory self-esteem was more important than lasting knowledge.



Matt Jasiorkowski

According to Mrs. Sachar, some of Walt Whitman's black teachers were held to a different standard—because they were hired by reason of color, not competence; because they owed their jobs to black political patronage. When one union official was questioned about Principal Claude Winfield's favoritism toward black teachers, he answered, "Favoritism is how you run a school."

Winfield could serve as a role model for incompetent administrators. The day before classes began, he "wore a red-and-white gingham shirt with an open collar, his crocheted cap, dark sunglasses, blue pants, white Reeboks, and a red sweater with two white stripes across the breast." "I dress this way so the parents don't think I'm the principal," he explains. The camouflage works—no one ever mistakes Mr. Winfield for a principal.

To solve the ills of Walt Whitmans everywhere, there is, of course, no shortage of experts offering this or that innovation. Most involve changes in administrative policy. In *The Classroom Crucible: What Really Works, What Doesn't, and Why*, Edward Pauly calls most of these policy recommendations what they are: nonsense.

Many experts blame policy failures on poor execution in the classroom by teachers and pupils, but after poring over studies by James S. Coleman, the Rand Corporation, and others, Mr. Pauly maintains that innovation has mostly hampered rather than promoted educational success, since most bureaucratic policies fail to translate into practical classroom behavior. He concludes that each school—by selecting teachers particularly competent to handle specific groups of students, and by employing simple, coherent curricula and sound disciplinary policies—can create for itself a proper classroom harmony. And such micromanagement as is appropriate should come from parents, teachers, and non-Winfieldian principals.

Mr. Pauly has discovered through exhaustive research what others have been saying for years: elaborate programs dictated from afar fail—or else are simply ignored, as is the case in our most effective schools.

One of the most consistently wise- (and somewhat lonely) writers on this topic has been Jacques Barzun. Contrast Mrs. Sachar's Principal Winfield with what Professor Barzun, in one of his essays collected in *Begin Here: The Forgotten Conditions of Teaching and Learning*, describes as the exemplary principal. Commenting on a nationwide study of inner-city schools whose students performed considerably better than others with similarly "disadvantaged" student bodies, Professor Barzun concludes that each successful school's principal "had a clear idea of what he wanted to achieve . . . chose and supervised his teachers, helped and encouraged them to follow his lead. They came to believe that reading, writing, and counting can be taught. With everybody taking it for granted that learning is what is supposed to go on in school, the pupils came to believe it too."

Mr. Morris is NR*'s executive editor.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Principals such as Winfield must be dismissed and replaced by ones such as Barzun's exemplar or New Jersey's Joe Clark—principals who will run their schools with both the authority necessary to control behavior and the concern required to inculcate a love of learning.

On the subject of vouchers, of which Mr. Pauly is a somewhat skeptical advocate, Professor Barzun answers: Choice "will be another Grand Abstraction masquerading as a competent judgment," another impediment to success. He imagines schools judged by gossip, newsletters, and abstract "scores" which, he argues, may put a school in high esteem this year and out of fashion the next.

Ten years ago it was estimated that just 18 per cent of the school year was devoted to educational work (the remainder to athletics, administrative tasks, etc.). And things have only gotten worse. Much valuable teaching time is now devoted to secondary and elective courses which have been added to the curriculum. Of course, when something goes in, something must come out. Students' attention is directed less and less toward the basic processes of learning and increasingly toward practical exercises (such as word problems), student-arranged curricula, and lessons designed to excite and entertain (such as filmstrips and dramatizations).

Since the early Fifties, the educationists, as Professor Barzun points out, have aspired to a progressive and egalitarian method of teaching. The importance of the arduous, repetitive task of acquiring rudimentary knowledge has diminished under the growth of academic folly inspired by the desire to entice students with instant stimulation.

Professor Barzun uses the term "pre-posterism"—"putting the end before the beginning"—to describe what has taken over public schools. The forgotten condition of learning from the beginning and progressing to more complex tasks has been replaced by pressure to appear to obtain quickly what can only be the fruit of some effort.

In years past, teachers led pupils slowly through the basic steps of learning. Education, after all, is a process. To read: sound out the letters of the alphabet, move on to the formation of words, then to words as parts of speech and their place in a sentence. Eventually pupils are not only reading, but understanding the make-up of the language itself. It's so simple we'll all be wondering why we spent so much money seeking alternatives to what works. □

The Broad Elite

THOMAS MALLON

HOW PECULIAR it is for an author gathering up essays that first saw life in, among other places, *Marxist Perspectives* and *Signs* to declare herself "temperamentally and culturally conservative." How even more peculiar it is that one is tempted to believe her. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, well known in academic circles for a book on the antebellum plantation household, is not afraid to admit her doubts about the feminist-left wave that has crashed onto university lawns—is not even afraid to ascribe a certain cogency to a pronouncement made by Allan Bloom from "a position about which [she] admittedly [has] deep reservations." She says she still prefers history to self-satisfying myth, and professes acceptance of "some notion, however secularized, of original sin," which sounds a lot like human nature, the very thing the academic Left thinks it repealed long ago.

Feminism without Illusions: A Critique of Individualism, by Elizabeth Fox-Genovese (University of North Carolina Press, 326 pp., $24.95)

Mr. Mallon's latest book is the novel Aurora 7 *(Ticknor & Fields).*

The author's self-proclaimed conservatism has, however, another peculiarity, an anti-capitalist one. It is "rampant capitalism," she says, that led to the coarsening primacy of "individualism," the all-purpose villain of her book, and the false premise of feminist causes she would still like to champion. By individualism she means "the systematic theory of politics, society, economics, and epistemology that emerged following the Renaissance, that was consolidated in the great English, American, French, and Haitian revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and that has found its purest logical outcome in the laissez-faire doctrine of neoclassical economics and libertarian political theory." (Mustn't leave out Haiti.)

Many feminists, she argues, have gotten themselves into a logical bind (as if they cared) by calling for, say, legal abortion on the basis of individual rights, while demanding such things as "comparable worth" through "a repudiation of individualism." Mrs. Fox-Genovese does seem to care about logic, and throughout her book she is groping for a different basis for feminism and society as a whole—something other than the individualism she consistently deplores. But even in her defense of comparable worth, what that "collective" alternative might be never quite emerges. It's a "conception of collective good that transcends the aggregate interests of competing, atomized individuals." But what is it? Feudalism? Cooperative farms?

The author sometimes manages, in the course of these abstract gropings, to stimulate, even engage, the reader. But too often she falls into standard-issue academic pieties. On some matters, either incidentally or at length, she comes close to talking rubbish: "The proliferation of homelessness primarily testifies not, as some would believe, to individual failures—although doubtless they play some part—but to the collective failure of that greatest of all American dreams, the prospect of individual property ownership." One more than suspects that her exceptions are really the rule. Put aside the mentally ill and ask yourself, while looking at the rest of the homeless, if more of them turned to drugs because they lost their homes or lost their homes because they turned to drugs.

The author's chapter on pornography is ultimately useless, because she will not talk about or describe pornography itself. It's just a *given* that it expresses male violence—never mind those films of hobnailed girls with whips, in which males seem desperately eager not to assert power but to unburden themselves of it. If one is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

going to ponder the laws governing pornography, then one ought at least to attempt to, dare I say it, "deconstruct" a fair sampling of the subject.

When judging recent revisions of the academic canon, Mrs. Fox-Genovese declares that it "assumes that the pool of potential heroes is restricted to white, elite males." Moreover, the men who wrote history, literary and otherwise, set out to create "a usable past for elite men." For a woman who claims to prefer history to myth, this is quite a fantasy to entertain. She seems actually to believe that when men look at history they take nothing but pride in it. According to the author, most defenders of the canon wish "to identify higher education, and our official culture, with a narrow elite." The "narrow elite" they so unreasonably have in mind has, in my long academic acquaintance with canon defenders, usually consisted of all students capable of reading on a 12th-grade level.

Long ago, literary study, like Lebanon and Cambodia, was a peaceful place, tended by teachers who were, despite what Mrs. Fox-Genovese says, more than hospitable to reappraisals and fresh discoveries. They were happy to welcome to their syllabi writers such as the American novelist Kate Chopin—happy, that is, until they were asked to believe that the readable Mrs. Chopin was in fact a kind of genius. It soon became apparent what was happening—you'd give them an inch and they'd take a bard. Mrs. Fox-Genovese's conservative side will concede that the canon's defenders speak of "barbarians at the gates" with "enough reason to make the rest of us uncomfortable," but not, it would seem, enough force to inspire much resistance.

Part of the author's problem lies in taking the current academy far more seriously than it was ever taken by the old elite white males, who loved being where the action wasn't. She notes, for example, how the historian Joan Scott, "who explicitly identifies herself with post-structuralism, increasingly articulates what appears to be a post-modernist agenda—or at least adopts a radically democratic, post-modernist rhetoric, which seems fundamentally at variance with post-structuralism's initial agenda." What this sentence ignores, besides the most minimal stylistic standards, is the fact that Joan Scott, like post-structuralism, is, outside the university, of absolutely no importance whatsoever. The old boys knew that about themselves and didn't care. But I wouldn't try telling it to Professor Scott, or Professor Fox-Genovese, who I suspect truly believes that she is helping to change the world by pointing out such things as the way in which "Sacvan Bercovitch has compellingly insisted on the relation between the American self and the history of American culture."

In fact, Mrs. Fox-Genovese usually writes with more grace than her academic contemporaries and a great deal more than she does in what I've quoted above. In many parts of her book, such as a likable autobiographical chapter in which she discusses her own happy marriage, she displays considerable human warmth. She is in some fundamental way on the side of civility. On such matters as the canon she is—in good faith, I think—seeking a middle way between the combatants. The difficulty is that her arguments on the subject wind up having no more power than presidential speeches at liberal-arts colleges—those mush-mouthed attempts to placate the kids without ruffling the parents. In any case, it is all talk, talk, talk, far too late, and drowned out by the incessant renovation of the ivory tower into a grubby little Bauhaus. □

Second Language

JEFFREY HART

THE Jeffrey Meyers phenomenon is awe-inspiring. He has now published some 27 books, including important biographies, as well as bibliographical and editing projects. In the seminar I am now teaching on T. S. Eliot and Ernest Hemingway at Dartmouth College, I require students to read one biography of each writer, among the choices being Jeffrey Meyers's recent biography of Hemingway. Now we have from Meyers a good biography of Joseph Conrad. Of the enormous amount that has been written on Conrad, if I were to assign one book on the subject, this would be it. It is informative, lucid, entirely serviceable, and contains a small amount of material not previously known except among Conrad scholars.

Joseph Conrad: A Biography, by Jeffrey Meyers (Scribner's, 428 pp., $27.50)

It reminded me, for example, of the agony of Poland. That geographically hapless nation, intensely proud of its traditions, was repeatedly crushed by the Russian czars. Conrad and his parents spent years in a frozen penal town. Conrad's father was a poet and a passionate if quixotic Polish nationalist who believed that martyrdom at the hands of the Russians was the fulfillment of his Polish patriotism. Poland was crushed again by Hitler and Stalin; more mass murder. One fervently hopes that Poland today will finally transcend this history and confirm its nationhood and culture within a European circumstance.

It is wondered at that Conrad was a great writer in a second language, English. In fact, Conrad was multilingual. On long walks with Henry James, the two authors conversed at great length in French. As Meyers informs us, Conrad's spoken English was not good, though he certainly—with patches of overwriting—could greatly handle the language on the written page.

The major bit of information that Meyers here makes generally available concerns a relationship that Conrad, married to a rather bovine woman, had with a dashing American journalist named Jane Anderson, a ravishing tall redhead who enjoyed very close associations with many literary men. Meyers assures us that Miss Anderson was the only woman with whom Conrad had extra-marital sexual relations. In fact, there seems to be no evidence that Conrad was intimate with her at all, despite appearances and her own reputation. It is interesting as part of the cavalcade of human folly that she was arrested years later for treason as a Nazi sympathizer.

Mr. Hart, an NR *senior editor, is a professor of English at Dartmouth College.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unfortunately, Meyers flunks, and in my judgment flunks very badly, his discussion of what is undoubtedly Conrad's greatest work, *Heart of Darkness*. When you declare upon a work, you not only read the work but the work reads you. If you fall short, the fact is there for all to see.

Meyers treats *Heart of Darkness* as an anti-colonial exposé. It is quite true that in 1898 the administration of the Belgian Congo had been an international scandal; and certainly the ivory-hunting ought to have been a scandal. But Conrad was not merely an Upton Sinclair of the Belgian Congo, though at one level the novella can be read that way.

Worse still, Meyers goes on and on in a trendy way about the supposed refutation by Conrad of the notion that European civilization was superior to the cannibal culture surrounding Mr. Kurtz. Of course the European culture was superior. The cannibal culture produced no works such as *Heart of Darkness*.

Nor, it seems, does Meyers understand that Kurtz is the great ambiguous tragic *hero* of *Heart of Darkness*. In Kurtz, Conrad expressed the doubt about civilization that is one of the startling and valuable legacies of artistic modernism. We find this doubt in such modernist classics as Mann's *Death in Venice* and Joyce's "The Dead." Kurtz, whose talents sum up nineteenth-century Europe, immerses himself in primitivism and discovers the primitive in himself.

But it is the precise point of Conrad's tale that Kurtz is *superior* to the narrator, Marlow, who remains very tentatively within civilization. When Kurtz, who has committed unspeakable crimes, dies, his eyes startle Marlow: "I was fascinated. It was as though a veil had been rent. I saw on that ivory face the expression of somber pride, of ruthless power, of craven terror—of an intense and hopeless despair." In the narrative shortly thereafter, Marlow himself falls ill and almost dies. He has no Kurtzian encounter with an intense reality, only a "vision of greyness."

For that reading of the tale, Kurtz is not an "imperialist" exploiting the natives and cadging ivory, but a man who, in Conrad's phrase, has "immersed himself in the destructive element," gone "over the edge" into astounding authenticity. I cannot

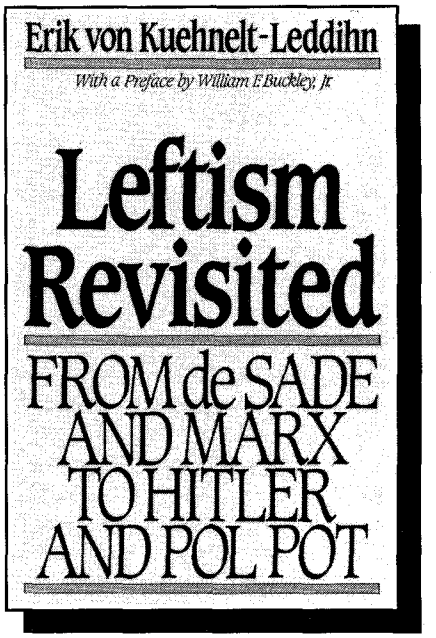
ERIK VON KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN'S

Leftism Revisited

"THIS IS NO DOUBT HIS MASTERPIECE."

–William F. Buckley Jr.

Leftism Revisited is the **thoroughly revised and updated** edition of Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn's *magnum opus–Leftism*, the best and most provocative analysis of the ideology that has crushed millions in its grasp, and that even while in retreat, threatens to bring the West to destruction.


Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn
With a Preface by William F Buckley, Jr
Leftism Revisited
FROM de SADE AND MARX TO HITLER AND POL POT

ORDER TODAY
1-800-955-5493
MC • VISA • AMEX
or
Send check for $29.95 plus $5.50 shipping & handling ($35.45 total) payable to:

REGNERY GATEWAY, INC.
P.O. Box 39
Federalsburg, MD 21632-0039

Introducing an exotic new financial language:

English.

Our guarantee: no jargon, no platitudes, and no using "impact" as a verb. What we *will* give you is a perspective you won't get from your broker. Or from the networks and newsweeklies.

Example: when the Sunday talk shows were moaning last fall about the state of the stock market, *The Capitalist's Companion* was explaining why stocks were done going down.

We won't always be right, of course. But we'll always be skeptical. What's more, we won't leave our wit in the coat closet when we sit down to write.

Try *The Capitalist's Companion* at a special trial rate. Call **1-800-966-6567** any time, day or night. Or mail us the coupon below.

( ) 5-issue trial for $19; ( ) 1 year (17 issues) for $120.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State ___ Zip ___

The Capitalist's Companion
JOURNAL OF POLITICS AND THE FINANCIAL MARKETS

175 Fifth Avenue Suite 2503 New York, N.Y. 10010

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quite reconcile Conrad's treatment of Kurtz with his *Lord Jim*, published a year later, which seems to tell us that Jim failed by not doing his duty within a civilized code. Perhaps few of us are chosen, or damned, to be Kurtzes.

Conrad is an extremely informative study of the man, even if it occasionally fails to understand Conrad the writer. Jeffrey Meyers would do well to pause in his own prodigious writings to reflect more upon why the subjects of his scholarship so preoccupy us. □

Schmaltz

DON FEDER

I MUST CONFESS a grudging respect for Alan Dershowitz. Unlike most civil-libertarians, the Harvard Law professor and controversial defense counsel strives for consistency, a discipline which leads him to oppose political correctness, liberal intolerance, and quotas.

Almost alone among Jewish liberals, he never hesitates to censure left-wing anti-Semitism. While others have drifted into a mushy, secular universalism and a ritualistic romanticization of the Third World (any "ism" but Zionism), Dershowitz is an unapologetic defender of Israel.

For all his virtues, however, the champion of downtrodden Danish aristocrats is a zealous self-promoter. Most of his literary works are homage to an all-consuming ego: Alan Dershowitz, courtroom corsair; Alan Dershowitz, civil-libertarian nonpareil. In *Chutzpah* we have Alan Dershowitz, super-Jew.

The book's thesis: Through timidity and an unwillingness to assert their rights, for fear of alienating the majority, Jews have consigned themselves to second-class citizenship. "American

***Chutzpah*, by Alan M. Dershowitz (Little, Brown, 384 pp., $22.95)**

Jews need more chutzpah. Notwithstanding the stereotype, we are not pushy or assertive enough for our own good," Dershowitz writes.

This is not an easy case to make. Transforming a group with incomes far above the national average—who are better educated, better employed, and numerically overrepresented in business, government, the media, and academia—into an oppressed minority takes considerable chutzpah.

The quest is driven by a neurotic need to secure membership in the brotherhood of suffering, to enter the exalted ranks of the victimized, along with the more romantic minorities: blacks, Hispanics, women. In leftist culture, oppression is a mark of high distinction.

Says Dershowitz: We Jews may have the incomes of Episcopalians, but deep down we too are persecuted, by: creches in public parks, efforts to enact a voluntary, nondenominational school prayer, Sunday closing laws, etc. Besides which and moreover, there's never been a Jewish President. Then again, there's never been an Italian-American, Polish-American, or Franco-American President. A pity the others lack a Dershowitz to raise their consciousness.

"Jews in a Christian America" is easily the most remarkable chapter in this highly creative volume. For Dershowitz, the greatest threat to American Jewry lies not in alarming rates of intermarriage, assimilation, Torah illiteracy, a declining birthrate, or a community afflicted with social ills (alcoholism, addiction, divorce, family violence) rarely associated with it in the past, but in the ghastly specter of little plaster statues lurking behind Christmas trees and Santas in city-hall plaza.

"The separation of church and state

Tim Bower

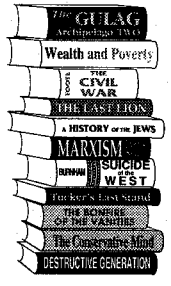
is the foundation on which the first-class status of American Jews rests," Dershowitz advises. But the erosion of that foundation is well under way. Inflamed by fanaticism, the religious Right seeks to Christianize America, and in so doing to slam shut the ghetto gates on American Jews.

Be not lulled by the siren song of choice: their devices smack of coercion, our civil-libertarian cautions. Consider his analysis of school prayer. "Standing for the flag salute is also supposed to be voluntary—as a matter of law. But as a matter of fact, there are practical pressures to conform. It probably would be worse in the context of prayer. Well-intentioned teachers might ask students why they aren't joining their classmates: 'Are you an atheist or a Communist?' "

The same analysis could be, but never is, applied to a number of public-school functions. In some schools sex education (which constitutes indoctrination in the establishment's

Mr. Feder is a columnist for the Boston Herald.

AUDIO BOOKS



- Low Prices
- Unabridged Recordings
- Purchase or Rent
- Over 300 Titles
- Professionally Narrated

CLASSICS ON TAPE
P.O. Box 969 Ashland, OR 97520

For a FREE Catalogue Call:

1-800-729-2665

Nicola Paone
ITALIAN RESTAURANT
Serving Lunch & Dinner
A Perfect Place for Parties
207 East 34th Street, New York
(212) 889-3239

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dogma) is supposed to be voluntary. Parents can have their children excused from these erotic brainwashing sessions. But students who don't participate are frequently subjected to ridicule and abuse from both teachers and peers. "Are you a prude or a sissy?" Does Dershowitz agonize over intimidation here?

So anxious is he to eliminate religious values from the political debate that Dershowitz even objects to the term "Judaeo-Christian," which—he declares—implies that Judaism is incomplete without Christianity. Quite the contrary. It is a recognition of the fact that ethically Christianity is an outgrowth of Judaism, that the two share a moral basis in the Pentateuch.

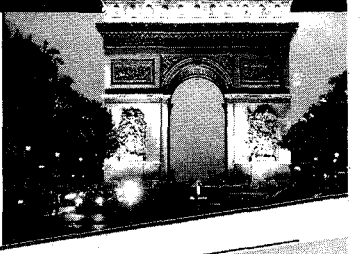
In any society, someone's values will dominate. As a believing Jew, I would rather live in an America shaped by the ethos of Moses, Isaiah, and Ezekiel than by that of Ted Turner, Ted Kennedy, and Shirley MacLaine.

Jews with the fewest ties to Judaism tend to be the most obsessed with a mythical reading of the First Amendment. Having no religion of their own, they are intimidated by the intrusion of religious symbols in the public sphere, any perceived entanglement of church and state. It is a self-defeating approach.

Among the imminent threats to the First Amendment Dershowitz discerns is public support of parochial education, in the form of vouchers or tax credits. One reason U.S. Jewry is a dying community is lack of effective Jewish education. How allowing a Jewish family to keep a modest portion of its income to educate its children in a school which teaches Torah values will reinforce the inferior status of American Jews is mystifying.

This concern over status (Are we first or second class? Do we have everything they've got?) is the product of distorted priorities. Dennis Prager, author of *Why the Jews: The Reasons for Anti-Semitism*, believes in a Jewish mission: to repair the world under the rule of God, to bring humanity to a realization that there is but one God, and His primary demands are ethical conduct and holiness. Without that mission, Prager avers, there really is no reason for the continued existence of the Jewish people, other than securing a spot in the *Guinness Book of World Records* as the longest-lived minority in history.

La France EN CASSETTES



It's been called the most exciting material available for students of French. Its subscribers include diplomats, government agencies, business and professional people, and thousands of high schools and universities worldwide. It's *Champs-Elysées*, the monthly audiomagazine for people who love France and the French language. Produced in Paris by Georges Lang, one of Europe's best-known broadcasters, each hour-long edition brings you interviews, music, and conversation about current events, travel, and the arts. A word-for-word transcription comes with each tape, complete with a French-English glossary and cultural notes. Study supplements, priced separately, help build listening comprehension with exercises based on selected program segments.

Champs-Elysées®

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE

Take 30 days to review your first tape. If you're not completely satisfied with the program, call for a full refund.

® Champs-Elysées, Inc. • 2000 Glen Echo Rd. • Suite 205 • Nashville, TN 37215

FOR FASTER SERVICE, ORDER BY CREDIT CARD
1-800-824-0829
(VISA AND MASTERCARD ACCEPTED)

Send check or money order to *Champs-Elysées*
Dept. FB2 • P.O. Box 158067 • Nashville, TN 37215-8067

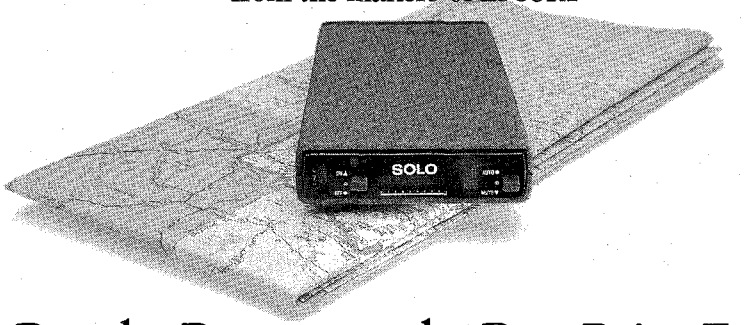
☐ 5 editions ($69) ☐ 11 editions ($118)
☐ Study supplement ($20) ☐ Study supplement ($44)

Tennessee residents add 7.75% sales tax

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____

Limited Time Offer!

from the makers of ESCORT®



Buy the Best — at the Best Price Ever!

Summer is here. And to make your summer traveling plans complete, we're offering a first time ever sale on our SOLO radar detector. If you order by July 15, 1991, you can have the world's best radar detector at an unbelievably low price – only $299 (a $349 value). SOLO comes with these great features:

- Cordless, battery-powered convenience
- Long range detection
- Detects both pulse and instant-on radar
- Anti-falsing circuitry
- Small enough to fit in a shirt pocket

This offer won't last long, so call today to place your order for the incomparable SOLO.

1-800-433-3487

Major Credit Cards Accepted
Ask about our 30-day money back guarantee

SOLO $299 + shipping

Ohio residents add 5.5% sales tax. Prices higher in Canada.

ESCORT®
▶ Department 339761
One Microwave Plaza
Cincinnati, Ohio 45249

© 1991 CMI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS
about religion are also about love, *sex*, politics, AIDS, WAR, PEACE, justice, *ecology*, theology, *philosophy*, addiction, Recovery, ethics, race, Gender, *dissent*, technology, old age, New Age, FAITH, *HEAVY METAL*, morality, *beauty*, GOD, *psychology*, money, dogma, FREEDOM, history, *death* and . . . Life!

For your complimentary copy of this 18" x 36" poster, please write to:

Publicity /NR
Abingdon Press
201 8th Avenue, South
Nashville, TN 37202

Abingdon Press

©1990 Abingdon Press
201 8th Avenue South
Nashville, TN 37202
Printed in the U.S.A.

Dershowitz would have Jews become just another whining minority, ever vigilant for slights, always demanding their due, even though a chip-on-the-shoulder mentality has done absolutely nothing for blacks. This is not a banner to rally a dispersed and often confused people. □

The Art of Deception

WICK ALLISON

YOU MIGHT suppose that fly-fishing is about catching fish. But that's not really the goal; if it were, we'd all be out on the river tossing in sticks of dynamite, which would be a lot more effective and probably less expensive. But no, the real aim of fly-fishing is catching fish *in the right way*, and the right way is less a matter of athletics than of aesthetics. The right fly at the right moment with the right cast is a thing of beauty. Who needs a fish?

***The Classic Guide to Fly-Fishing for Trout*, by Charles Jardine (Random House, 288 pp., $35)**

The aesthetic of fly-fishing hasn't been captured very well in all the vast angling literature. A few years ago Judith Dunham published a wonderful little book, *The Art of the Trout Fly*, in which the creations of the world's top fly-tiers were displayed in evocative and sometimes startling settings. But, for all her talent, Miss Dunham seems to have lacked ambition; while her book is four-color throughout, it is on the small side, and my copy is in paperback, no less.

No such small-minded limitations were placed on Charles Jardine and his colleagues with the creation of *The Classic Guide*. This book was not so much written as produced. Mr. Jardine is the angling correspondent for the London *Daily Telegraph*, and one suspects his authorship was enlisted principally to lend authority, since there is very little in the prose that is either original or particularly enlightening. The real inspiration behind this book is its designer, Michael Wood.

The Classic Guide aspires to be nothing less than a compendium of *everything* one needs to know about fly-fishing: the habitat and habits of trout, the fisherman's equipment, the flies and fly-tying, and the techniques and tactics of fly-casting. If it fails to accomplish such an impossible goal, it still manages to cover *nearly* everything a beginner needs to know.

But even the most experienced fly-fisherman will enjoy this beautiful book, thanks to its superb art direction—especially the excellent photography, which includes six of the most spectacular underwater shots I've seen of trout swinging up to take a fly (credited to the "Hunting and Fishing Library," whatever that is). With its dramatic use of typography and line drawings, the design truly captures the elegance of the sport.

It also leads to some reflections on why fly-fishing is different from other kinds of fishing. Of course, the nature of the sport, the very delicacy of it, requires the fly-fisherman to be utterly attuned to nature's rhythms: to water temperature, hatching cycles, sunlight, barometric pressure, and so on. Much of the beauty of the sport, in fact, devolves from its delicacy.

But the true aesthetic of fly-fishing is deception. The objective is to flutter a tiny, nearly weightless, artificial insect, connected to the rod by an almost invisible tippet, onto rushing water with such convincing naturalness that the world's most nervous predator will mistake it for lunch. A trout is too stupid to be curious and too lazy to be brave. He only goes for the sure thing.

So an artistic principle lies at the heart of fly-fishing. Other fishermen—I don't say *lesser* fishermen, although I'm thinking it—tend to consider fly-fishing pretentious. But that's just ignorance. My upcountry neighbor, Joe, sells sausage for a living; if you want to know the antithesis of pretension, meet Joe. But Joe can cast a line in an arc of such consummate beauty that the mouth gapes, the senses freeze.

A thousand acts of beauty make up this wonderful sport. If you want an introduction to it, buy this book. □

Mr. Allison is NR*'s publisher.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney

1 B	2 N	3 H	4 F		5 W	6 Q	7 J		8 I	9 E	10 O		11 D	12 R		13 C	14 Y	15 M	16 A	17 B
18 G	19 K		20 L	21 H	22 Q		23 U	24 A	25 D	26 B	27 I	28 N	29 V		30 G	31 F	32 C	33 I	34 P	
35 S	36 M	37 D		38 A	39 J	40 N	41 R	42 X		43 L	44 K	45 G	46 F	47 D	48 A	49 Q	50 W	51 S		52 K
53 B	54 E	55 G		56 C	57 F	58 J	59 M	60 O	61 U		62 Y	63 Q	64 C		65 R	66 I	67 V	68 L	69 E	70 J
71 S		72 I	73 C	74 Q	75 W	76 N	77 K	78 X		79 O	80 J	81 C	82 S	83 W		84 E	85 A	86 D	87 Q	
88 G	89 L	90 F	91 U	92 P	93 I	94 R	95 X	96 C	97 Y	98 G		99 A	100W	101M		102H	103A	104J	105L	106C
107N	108I		109G	110K		111H	112O	113M	114E	115B	116F	117U	118L	119D	120P		121T	122H		123B
124Q		125T	126E	127D	128B	129O	130E		131M	132N	133R	134O		135H	136Y		137V	138L	139D	140J
	141A	142B	143T	144H	145E	146Q	147F	148I	149C	150N		151X	152P	153B		154G	155C	156V	157D	158W
159K	160R		161I		162G	163W	164Y	165H	166J	167V		168G	169L	170F	171X	172S		173A	174S	175I
176M	177N		178T	179C	180K	181D	182H	183B	184F	185U	186Q		187I	188N						

DEFINITIONS

A. Reprehensible *one* — 85 38 141 48 103 173 16 99 24

B. Whigs to Tories — 142 128 26 53 153 115 1 123 183 17

C. Paleolithic man — 96 106 149 32 64 81 155 13 56 179 73

D. The UN's Pickering is one — 139 127 11 86 119 25 157 37 47 181

E. Critic who goes by the book — 54 126 145 9 114 84 69 130

F. Listing — 90 31 170 57 147 184 116 46 4

G. Germans' luscious link — 55 162 109 154 30 168 88 45 98 18

H. Like a flower bud — 144 135 102 165 111 182 3 21 122

I. Conceited — 66 33 27 108 148 93 187 175 72 161 8

J. Thomas Hood's least favorite month — 104 166 80 70 39 140 7 58

K. Belongings — 159 52 110 44 77 180 19

L. Response — 138 68 20 105 43 118 169 89

M. New Jersey *capital* — 131 15 101 176 113 59 36

N. Furniture city in North Carolina (2 words) — 132 76 177 2 107 188 40 150 28

O. Exultant — 79 129 112 134 60 10

P. Roman war god — 120 152 92 34

Q. Dedicated by the author — 146 63 124 186 6 49 87 74 22

R. Like a not-so-airtight room — 160 41 133 65 94 12

S. Lack — 71 174 35 82 51 172

T. They can be smacked or licked — 143 121 178 125

U. Blue-pencils — 91 23 185 117 61

V. Novak's partner — 156 67 137 167 29

W. Smoker's accessory — 163 50 100 158 75 5 83

X. Hide — 78 171 95 42 151

Y. Now — 164 136 97 62 14

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 52 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Business Opportunities

OWN YOUR OWN BUSINESS: innovative, established, growing (11% per month), minimal investment. Written info and video (VHS): 312-764-7100 or NR Box 2052.

Real Estate

WESTERN COLORADO'S heartland, Montrose. Homes, ranches, businesses. Real Estate Exchange. Call Bob, 800-950-9299.

Investment Opportunities

DISTRESS SALE. To settle estate $300,000 cash needed; low private financing on balance. Gov't appraisal $2,800,000; asking $1,500,000. Highest land at ocean, in sight of Boston, U.S.A. Get this unique property in your portfolio at distress price and ride up market; free caretaker. Or create syndicate to present to Boston wealth first-ever private compound sharing employees, yacht, helicopter, horses, etc. Or live here alone; 54 acres privacy (seen only from sky or sea). Main house, gatehouse, helipad, exquisite views. 203-633-6025. Brokers protected; also finder's fee.

ENTREPRENEUR(S) WANTED to recapitalize and reorganize working 1990s business. We locate custom, exotic, and specialty cars for buyers using computer. Up and operational. We need money and marketing. Sale/partnership/relocation considered. AutoMatch InterNational, 750-C North Bedford Street, East Bridgewater, Mass. 02333. 508-378-8982.

Resort/Vacation Rentals

CHARLESTON'S RESORT ISLANDS: Miles of beach, championship golf courses, superb tennis facilities, bike trails, fine dining, exciting shopping, plus historic Charleston. Free brochures. Kiawah 800-845-3911, Seabrook 800-845-2233, Wild Dunes 800-346-0606, ext. 111.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

ROSS BAKER:

Lamb to the Slaughter?

Even though there are no blips on the Democratic presidential radar, . . . even though New Hampshiremen are becoming fretful over the lack of quadrennial attention, we all assume that the party out of power will come up with a candidate to challenge President Bush.

EXQUISITE 4-BEDROOM RENTAL, Poipu Beach, Kauai. Tennis, golf. 415-927-4751.

For Sale

ICONS, medieval paintings, traditional Catholic art. Brochure $1.00. Studio Didymus, P. O. Box 5481, River Forest, Ill. 60305.

HUNDREDS of IBM programs, $3.00 each. Free catalogue on disk. BAC Marketing, 279 South Beverly Drive, Suite 1142, Beverly Hills, Calif. 90212.

EDUCATION DECAL—$3—National Pride in Professional Identity. PEC, Inc., P. O. Box 345, Palmer, Mass. 01069.

NATIONAL REVIEW's canvas tote bag on sale now. Tote around town with *National Review*'s lightweight canvas bag. Great for books. Be identified with *National Review* "For All the Right Reasons." Send $9.95 plus $2.00 (postage/handling) to *National Review*, Dept. C/Tote, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

U.S. FLAGS—sewn stripes, heavy outdoor nylon. 3′ × 5′ regularly $30, *National Review* special $20. Other sizes available. 800-441-FLAG.

Educational Opportunities

NOT JUST ANOTHER algebra book. Study guide, $27.95. Algebra Tutoring, 505 Hollywood Drive, Knoxville, Tenn. 37919.

"PRIVATE SCHOOLS FOR ALL," by O. B. Johannsen. Provocative essay on purpose of education. Why it should be conducted as private enterprise. $1.00 each. Write: Committee of One, 825 Walnut Street, Roselle Park, N.J. 07204.

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP TRAINING. Learn the secrets of organizing your college campus conservatives. Leadership Institute, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151. 800-827-LEAD.

Professional Services

"ARCHITECTURE is the work of nations."—John Ruskin. Fuller and D'Angelo, P.C., Architects & Planners, 595 West Hartsdale Avenue, White Plains, N.Y. 10607-1894.

INVESTIGATOR: New York City–based investigator offering full services to attorneys, including process, locating witnesses, etc. Patrick Nannery, 516-781-8006.

Literary/Periodicals

YOU CAN BE a published author. Harbor House (West) Publishers will privately publish your book manuscript. Publicity, review opportunities provided. P. O. Box 2545, Rancho Mirage, Calif. 92270.

FREE PERIODIC LIST—"Collectible Books for Conservatives." CML Books, RR 1, #92, Elverson, Pa. 19520.

MANUSCRIPTS WANTED, all types. Publisher with seventy-year tradition. 800-695-9599.

OLD BOOKSCOUT locates out-of-print books. Write "Greenmantle," P. O. Box 1777NR, Culpepper, Va. 22701-6324.

Financial

LET THE GOVERNMENT finance your small business. Grants/loans to $500,000. Free recorded message: 707-448-0270 (KH7).

Personal

ATTRACTIVE, HOMEMAKING Scandinavian, European women desire correspondence! Marriage? Direct contact! Lifetime registration U.S. $60. Intermatch, P. O. Box 2831, Littleton, Colo. 80161.

U.S.–ASIAN CONNECTION. Make lasting penfriends. Free photo brochure. 702-451-3070.

JAPANESE, ASIAN, EUROPEAN friendship! Inter-Pacific, P. O. Box 304-N, Birmingham, Mich. 48012.

ASIAN PENFRIENDS! Sunshine International Correspondence, P. O. Box 5500-FH, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745. 808-325-7707.

PENFRIENDS, ENGLAND–U.S.A. Make lasting friendships. Send age, interests. Free reply. Harmony, P. O. Box 82295NR, Phoenix, Ariz. 85071.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS EXCHANGE® for unattached music lovers. Nationwide. P. O. Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803. 800-233-CMLS.

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: $3.00 per word with 10-word minimum. Phone number, zip code, and all permitted abbreviations count as one word. Permitted abbreviations include titles (M.D., Ph.D.), organization names (IBM, USMC), state and country names (N.Y., U.S.), and miscellaneous items such as A.P.O., RR, S.A.S.E., P. O. Box.

Special Rates: $2.75 per word per insertion for 4 insertions; $2.50 per word per insertion for 6 insertions; $2.25 per word per insertion for 8 or more insertions.

NR Box Numbers: Available for an additional $10. Include "NR Box ____" in text of ad (three words). Responses will be forwarded. Address responses c/o William Bolan, *National Review*, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

New Service: We will accept display ads in the Classified Section. The rates are as follows: 1 column inch: $125; 2 column inches: $250; 3 column inches: $350. Camera-ready art must be provided.

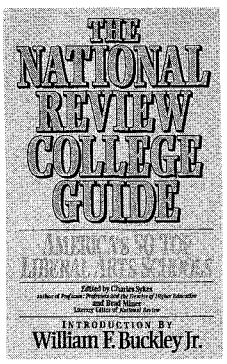
Restrictions: NR does not accept political advertisements. NR also reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason.

To Order: Full payment in advance is required, by either check, money order, MasterCard, or Visa. Include expiration date with credit-card orders. No telephone orders. Address: William Bolan, *National Review*, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRESENTING THE NATIONAL REVIEW COLLEGE GUIDE!

The 50 top liberal-arts schools in America. It helps you identify the schools that make a difference. It describes in detail what makes each recommended school special: curricular common sense; dedicated teaching; administrative sense of purpose; supervised student life; and a congenial campus atmosphere. Available direct from *National Review* for only $14.95, plus $2 shipping and handling. The best investment you'll ever make. Just send $16.95 to: The National Review College Guide, 150 East 35th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10016.



SCANDINAVIA, POLAND, RUSSIA, etc.: Worldwide link between unattached professionals. Scanna International, P. O. Box 4-NR, Pittsford, N.Y. 14534. 716-586-3170.

Audio

Christian Books on audio cassette!

Free catalog from...

CHRISTIANS LISTENING

Box 87 - Van Wyck, SC 29744

Or toll free ***1-800 / 522-2979***

AUDIO CASSETTE of original country/bluegrass songs about medicine, Medicare, HMOs, malpractice, and things that doctors fuss and cuss about every day. Perfect gift for medical meetings, drug company reps, and hospital administrators. $9.00/tape; quantity price on request. OR Productions, 10246 Cherokee Road, Richmond, Va. 23235.

Situations Wanted

CONSERVATIVE ATTORNEY with private practice, teaching, and government experience. Three books published. Seeks teaching, public-policy, or legal position in upstate New York. Vermont, New Hampshire inquiries welcome. NR Box 2056.

Situations Available

CAPITOL HILL CAREERS begin here. Conservative? Want a Hill job? Veteran Hill staffers teach you what's what on the Hill. Leadership Institute, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151. 800-827-LEAD.

FALL INTERNSHIPS AVAILABLE with conservative organizations. Get a head start on your public policy career. Send résumé. Leadership Institute Job and Talent Bank, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151. 703-321-8580.

Video

REDUCE TEENAGE PREGNANCIES, abortion, AIDS, and STDs. Promote the chastity option in your high-school health-education curriculum—via a non-judgmental upbeat one-hour videotape "Teens and Chastity" by Molly Kelly. Video in use in many high schools. Donate to your local school board. VHS only. Send $29.95 to N.J. State Council, Knights of Columbus, P. O. Box 3222, Trenton, N.J. 08619-0222. Information call 609-585-3168.

SCIENTIFICALLY quantifying happiness. Two hours from the *Dr. Arends Show* nominated for an Armstrong Award for broadcast excellence. Send $19.95 to Dr. Arends Show, 6448 Parkview, Troy, Mich. 48098.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW STUDIES PROGRAM

How would you like to study the classics of conservative thought under the tutelage of the most respected scholars in the field—**without leaving your own home?** This September *National Review* will launch an interactive studies program which will allow you to take courses (for degree credit or for your own intellectual pleasure) via desktop computer. All you need is a telephone modem for your computer, and you will have entrée to a world of ideas and discussion unavailable anywhere else. Send for your application today. Tuition ranges from $500 to $1,150, depending on level of study. Reply: NR Box Studies.

SOBRAN

(Continued from page 35)

spelled "Shakspere"—a point that may reflect more than their regular orthography of the time).

Far from being "a non-writer with no experience of the theater," confined to his study, Oxford was a poet and playwright of distinction—"among the best for comedy," Francis Meres called him. He also had two acting companies. But it would have been *infra dig* for a nobleman to put his own name on works for the *public* theater.

The Claremont study wasn't exactly a space-age wonder. In making punctuation one of its tests, for example, it used an edition of Shakespeare with modernized punctuation! It's hard *not* to "disdain such an approach."

And look again at one of the verbal parallels you find "thin stuff." Oxford writes to Lord Burghley that, "It is my hap according to the English proverb to starve like the horse, while the grass doth grow." Hamlet tells Rosencrantz: "Ay, Sir, but 'while the grass grows'—the proberb is something musty." Both are giving the proverb "while the grass groweth, the horse starveth" an unusual twist: They're using it to complain of being stalled with promises from receiving an inheritance. I find this a telling idiosyncrasy. If coincidence, it is *quite* a coincidence. The same holds for many syllable-for-syllable correspondences between Oxford and "Shakespeare."

Several of the plays are conventionally dated after 1604, the year Oxford died, for no better reason than that their presumed author lived until 1616. None refers unequivocally to any event after 1598. The Sonnets were published in 1609, but it's generally agreed that they were written by 1603—which is about when Oxford would have ceased writing them.

Three references to "Shakespeare" after 1604, but before 1616, hint that he's already dead. Will disappears from the London records from 1604 to 1612 (though he's heavily documented in Stratford during these years). His death in 1616 was ignored in London, which is as if Hollywood had ignored the passing of Welles or Hitchcock. If, that is, Will was identified with "Shakespeare."

Shakespeare apocrypha, including such plays as *The London Prodigal* and *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, began appearing with the name "Shakespeare" on them only after 1604—but again, before 1616. If Will was "Shakespeare," why didn't he protest this repeated theft of his name? Why wouldn't *any* author raise hell about such a fraud? The answer is that the real "Shakespeare," Oxford, was dead, and the appropriation of his pen name had become safe as well as profitable.

But the Oxford hypothesis does more than make sense of such facts. It enhances our appreciation of the greatest poet in English. It connects the author with his work as all the wrong-headed Shakespeare "biographies" utterly fail to do. And it helps to illuminate poetic creation itself. Quite a payoff.

Besides—wouldn't you give your eye-teeth for a vivid glimpse of "Shakespeare," whoever he was? For a full and satisfying portrait of Oxford, one that will answer your questions much better than I can here, I recommend *The Mysterious William Shakespeare*, by Charlton Ogburn Jr.

—Joe Sobran
Scribe

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Gleam in the Democratic Eye

NEW YORK, MAY 6

You will, I know, have noticed the sunburst among critics of Desert Storm. Several prominent columnists have led the way, and before you know it, it is going to be official Democratic practice. Here is the schematic:

1. Democrats (most of them) were opposed to Operation Desert Storm.

2. By a narrow margin, their opposition was overridden in Congress, and President Bush went ahead.

3. Granted, American military losses were slight—184 in number. But consider the following:

—One hundred thousand Iraqis were killed by U.S. et al. military.

—Over one hundred thousand Kurds were killed by Saddam Hussein, in reaction to their opposition to him, which opposition was triggered by Desert Storm.

—An untold number of Shiite Muslims in the south were killed when Saddam repressed their opposition.

—Over one million Kurds fled Saddam's oppression. They are suffering greatly, and an untold number of them will die of myriad causes.

—In resisting U.S. intervention, Saddam torched the oil fields of Kuwait, causing an ecological disaster whose proportions are immeasurable. That, and of course the loss in oil. We cannot fix this figure exactly, but $50 billion would not be an unreasonable guess.

—And on top of it all, Saddam Hussein is in power. In fact, every day he appears to be more firmly in power.

—Needless to say, nothing of a diplomatic new world order in the Middle East has been accomplished. All the players—the Saudis, Syria, Jordan, Israel—are holding fast to their positions, and all we have done is burn up a lot of fuel ferrying Secretary Baker around and undermining the prestige of U.S. diplomacy.

4. From which it follows that: The Democrats were triumphantly correct when they voted against military action.

Those who are tempted by the above casuistry might play with the following:

1. Pearl Harbor was a heavy blow, resulting in the deaths of 2,500 American soldiers and sailors.

2. On the other hand, in order to defeat the Axis Powers, the United States went on to suffer three hundred thousand battle deaths, participating in a three-and-one-half-year-long world war that cost the lives, all told, of 55 million people, and saw the United States explode a nuclear bomb over two Japanese cities, introducing the nuclear age.

3. The end of the war saw the elimination of Tojo in Japan, and of Hitler in Germany, granted. But it saw also the occupation of Eastern Europe by Josef Stalin. This brought on *forty-four* years of totalitarian rule over 110 million people, and the strengthening of the hand of a Soviet dictator who long after the war had ended had 15 million political prisoners, subjected to the worst torture ever recorded in modern penal systems.

4. There grew out of the terrible tension brought on by that world war two large-scale military engagements, one in Korea, a second in Vietnam, the human costs of which in U.S. lives were one hundred thousand, in the lives of Koreans and Vietnamese, something on the order of five million.

5. The cost of the cold war has not yet ended, with a military budget in the neighborhood of $300 billion per year. If we add it all up you are talking about trillions of dollars—enough, had the money been used for other purposes, to relieve the entire Third World of poverty.

6. Therefore, we should not have entered the world war.

It is a primitive fallacy: In going up to the roof to bring down the three-year-old who got stranded up there, you slip and slide down yourself. Therefore you shouldn't try to rescue little children who get stuck. . . . The little boy grew up to become Jack the Ripper. Therefore you should not have little boys, . . .

It was not *inherent* in Operation Desert Storm that any of the above should have happened, save possibly the death of one hundred thousand Iraqis. What we deplore is what Saddam Hussein went on to do. Which is the Democrat who was urging all along that we consummate Desert Storm by marching into Baghdad and dispossessing Saddam? □

Viva Fast Track!

NEW YORK, MAY 15

The flurry over Fast Track, designed to expedite a free-trade agreement with Mexico, is of more than merely passing interest. For one thing it is an eye-opener on presidential politics, A.D. 1992. For another, it deeply commits us in the best way to the best impulses coming out of Mexico. And, finally, it fires a fair-weather shot across the bow of Europe.

The key actor in Congress was of course Richard Gephardt, the House Majority Leader. Mr. Gephardt wishes very much to be President of the United States, doesn't think at the moment that this is likely to happen given the popularity of Mr. Bush and the epochal mistake of Mr. Gephardt in voting against Desert Storm, but hasn't quite given up. As the nation's Number One Japan Basher (perhaps after T. Boone Pickens), he was ideally situated to carry the protectionists' banner against Fast Track. If he had done so, he'd have conveyed the message that protectionism would be the basic plank of his presidential candidacy. Since he is important within the Democratic Party, this would have suggested that the labor unions (who are the primary, though not the exclusive, backers of high tariffs) would bind the vote of the Democratic Party in the years immediately ahead. Gephardt's cautious retreat from opposition to Fast Track is therefore deeply significant.

On the matter of Mexico, President Salinas is proving to be the best thing to hit the country since Cortés. The national party that has been running Mexico for sixty years has been the soul of anti-democratic corruption and socialist demagogy. When Mr. Salinas was inaugurated it was widely supposed that, like his predecessors, he'd be swept up in the cultural and economic piracy associated with that august office.

All of a sudden, some of the people who thought they were entirely safe found themselves in jail. Not nearly as many as ought to be there, and conspicuously absent from jail were several of President Salinas's predecessors. But the turn was very pronounced, in favor of economic progress and hygienic government. Into the picture entered the question of: trade with the United States. Mexico's pride is as tall as its volcanoes, and it is never far distant

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from Mexican consciousness that a century and a half ago we walked off with half their country; that today, Mexican workers flock to the United States, most of them illegally, just to have a chance to make a living; that the Mexican peso has gone from 12 to the dollar to 3,000 to the dollar in a little over a generation; and that whereas per capita the American makes $21,700 per year, the Mexican makes less than $3,000. But Mr. Salinas has gradually eased Mexico away from a protectionism that represented at once socialist insularity and anti-Yanqui xenophobia. Our tariffs against Mexican goods are already very slight (3 to 4 per cent), theirs heavy (as high as 20 per cent). But the vision of Bush–Salinas is of a free-trade area—"from the Yukon to the Yucatán"—and the realization of any such dream requires the passage of the Mexican Free Trade Act. With Mexico prepared to drop its old-line defenses against U.S. imports, a failure to reciprocate would have been deemed an act of massive disdain, as if we were making it national policy to Remember the Alamo.

And of course there is Europe. The signs there are not promising. The refusal of the principal European nations to defy their farm blocs has suggested the possible cartelization of the European economy in the next year or two. Now whereas it is not wise policy to react against that cartelization by imposing punitive tariffs of our own, it is extremely good policy to suggest in concrete terms what it would cost Europe to price itself out of the Western Hemispheric market. We are talking about $6 trillion per year, and a market of 360 million people. If we can engineer a gradual, or preferably non-gradual, end to tariff barriers throughout the hemisphere, we will have created a market other trading blocs will lust after.

The collapse of Marxism might just be followed by a worldwide movement toward free trade, the final vindication of the vision of Adam Smith. Viva Adam Smith. Viva Mexico. Viva Gephardt, God save us! □

The Quayle Bit

NEW YORK, MAY 10

The stuff & stuff being written and said about Dan Quayle following upon the journalistic epiphany that George Bush is mortal prompts a few observations.

1. Six weeks before he was inaugurated, I lunched privately with Senator Quayle, taking the opportunity to search

© 1991 Mal Ent., Inc.

out that highly advertised vacuity. I didn't find it. We talked about several things, especially the Strategic Defense Initiative, concerning which I found him splendidly informed and balanced. That evening, at a ceremonial affair, I was seated next to the President-elect, and what I said to him (among other things) was: I had lunch today with Dan Quayle, and if it had been a year ago, I'd have reported to my fellow editors at NATIONAL REVIEW the next day, "You know, I lunched yesterday with a very bright young senator." Mr. Bush was very pleased—but not surprised.

2. A few weeks later at lunch with a few friends, one of them—a nationally esteemed television commentator—said that he had spent nine days on the road following vice-presidential candidate Richard Nixon around in 1952 and—a matter of coincidence—he had spent nine days on the road following vice-presidential candidate Dan Quayle back in September. What had he concluded from a comparison? "That Nixon was an old 39-year-old, and Dan Quayle a young 41-year-old, but that they both had the same capacity to grow."

3. Some time after that, a wise old bird who has known everybody intimately since Moses advised his friends at dinner that he had predicted the nomination of Dan Quayle back in May 1988. Oh? How come? Well, he said, back in those days, George Bush was running 14 points behind Dukakis in the polls, and on top of that, he was running eight points behind among women. So—he said—"I looked over the field of vice-presidential candidates, eliminating those who had themselves contended for the Presidency—I knew George didn't want one of them as a teammate—and I discovered that young Dan Quayle, who had beaten the apparently invulnerable Birch Bayh of Indiana in 1980, had run ten points ahead of Bayh among women. I asked myself, Was there anything disqualifying about Quayle? the answer was No, and I put my money on him. As usual," my wealthy friend smiled, "I was right."

4. The insiders tell you that in the late fall of 1988, the publisher of the *New York Times* came to a decision about whom to back in the presidential contest: Bush–Quayle. His colleagues all but committed suicide on getting the news. They pleaded with him. The *New York Times* hadn't come out for a Republican for President since Eisenhower, and then they were paying off a debt Arthur Krock had contracted in private conversations with leading Republicans: Defeat Bob Taft, and the *Times* will come out for you. They finally brought the publisher around—by dropping on his head, like the Chinese water torture, drop after drop of anti-Quayliana, day after day. The water supply, by the way, is easy to collect. First you amass everything sitting around—his joining the Indiana National Guard instead of the Green Berets, then his getting into law school under the patronage of his influential grandfather; a little on his addiction to playing golf (only in this respect is he to be compared with General Eisenhower), and after that all you have to do is tune in on the Johnny Carson show, which is the national depository of anti-Quayle jokes. Well, it worked. With the result?

5. It is estimated that his running-mate lowered Mr. Bush's total vote by about two points. If that is true, he still won comfortably. And, of course, even if that two points were to enlarge to three points, he'd win comfortably again in 1992, unless Saddam Hussein conquers Eastern Europe.

6. Meanwhile, close observers of Vice President Quayle will concede that he is not a fleeted performer in public situations. But of course we have had many successful politicians who are not successful orators. They include eight of the last ten Presidents. On the other hand, if tomorrow he were to extemporize the *Areopagitica*, nobody would notice: the nation's lenses are trained not on anything Dan Quayle does that is successful, but on any solecism, verbal, athletic, or political. The entire press corps is playing Kitty Kelley to Dan Quayle.

7. And then too the public finds it hard to think of any non-President as President—until it actually happens. On a Wednesday morning early in November 1960, a hundred reporters who had treated their subject like a brother, in some cases a kid brother, were waiting for him to come into the large room at Hyannis Port. Suddenly he entered, and overnight he had become the President-elect. They all stood up. And they'll do that for Dan Quayle, should it happen to him. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OFF THE RECORD

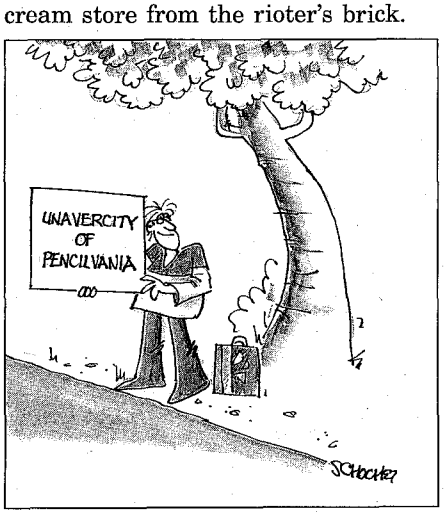
Republican Reform. Last year, when Representative Don Sundquist (R., Tenn.) ran against Representative Guy Vander Jagt (R., Mich.) for control of the National Republican Congressional Committee on a reform ticket, Sundquist lost because it was thought that he had been put up to it by President Bush. Bush was irritated at the advice given by Ed Rollins, then co-chief of the NRCC, to GOP congressman to hold fast on their tax pledge. But the complaints raised at the time about the ineffectiveness of the NRCC at turning financial contributions into electoral victories were valid, and many of those who supported Vander Jagt last winter made it clear that had his opponent been anyone other than Sundquist they would have voted otherwise.

The pressure is still on the top rank of the NRCC, which is why Chairman Vander Jagt agreed to an investigation into the organization by Representatives Porter Goss (R., Fla.) and Jim Lightfoot (R., Iowa), respectively ex-CIA and ex-police. At a recent meeting between congressional administrative assistants and the NRCC top brass, Mr. Vander Jagt said that among reforms expected were reducing the number of consultants from fifty to one, and cutting the staff by half. But the big question, still unanswered, is: Will the NRCC get rid of fundraiser Wyatt Stewart, whose grip on finances is the main obstacle to a reformed NRCC? Stay tuned.

The Vietnam Syndrome. Cato has already noted that the Bush Administration intends to normalize relations with Vietnam, and further evidence came recently when the U.S. sent $1 million in aid to be used for the benefit of Vietnamese amputees. Not everyone thinks this a wise course. Indeed, former President Richard Nixon sent a note to former Secretary of the Navy James Webb in response to a column Mr. Webb wrote opposing the aid.

"It is incredible to me that we should even be considering aid to Vietnam because of their cooperation in accounting for our MIAs, an action which they should have taken 17 years ago," wrote Mr. Nixon. "And I am appalled at the suggestion that one of the reasons we should consider establishing diplomatic relations is because of the progress Vietnam has made in reforming its Communist economy. The fact that tens of thousands of Vietnamese are still trying to escape from the country is an indication that up to this time there has really been no significant move from a command to a private-enterprise economy. I hope your article receives the attention it deserves in the State Department."

Summer in the City. The recent riots in the Mount Pleasant and Adams Morgan sections of Washington, D.C., hit Cato close to home, literally. The first round of violence started when the rumor spread that a black female police officer had shot a Hispanic who had been handcuffed (actually, as Eugene Methvin reports on page 30, he had come at her with a knife). But the second night of rioting was purely apolitical: rioters went on a rampage when it became clear police were not going to stop them. Even Ben & Jerry's tropical rainforest crunch couldn't save the politically correct ice-cream store from the rioter's brick.



The unrest presented Mayor Sharon Pratt Dixon with her first challenge, and with all her talk about healing and dialogue she made it clear she wasn't going to do anything. It didn't escape notice in Adams Morgan, whose shops are small and largely ethnic. "If this were Georgetown," complained one, "you wouldn't see cops standing by doing nothing."

Operation Miscue. Cato hears that Deputy Attorney General Henry Barr was "hostile" to a group of pro-life lawyers who met with him recently [see "Off the Record," April 29] to press the Justice Department to file civil-rights charges against Los Angeles police for brutalizing Operation Rescue activists. Mr. Barr repeated the claim that the cops' "willful intent" to use excessive force could not be proved. Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights John Dunne tried the same line at an April 24 hearing before a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee, but Representative Henry Hyde (R., Ill.) would have none of it. "If it is accepted procedure to get a man down on his stomach and to . . . handcuff him back here and then have a policeman put a knee in his back, and then another one pull him up by the nose, if that is not willful, I don't understand the word and the language. And dragging a woman by the brassiere up stairs in jailhouses, if that is not willful, I don't know what is." A Hill staffer tells Cato that the conservative Mr. Hyde, along with liberal Representative Don Edwards (D., Calif.), is now drafting legislation that would give the attorney general authority to go after police departments that have "a pattern of pain compliance."

Where Was Phil? Wendy Gramm, chairman of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission and wife of Senator Phil Gramm (R., Tex.), was recently honored at a banquet with an Excellence 2000 award, given out each year to Asian-Americans who have achieved distinction in their field. Yet her senator husband was nowhere in sight, even when his name was announced to the audience. Word Cato hears is that the senator failed to show up when he found out that he wouldn't be sitting on the dais. If only we'd thought of that during the budget summit. —CATO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Our boss won't be happy until he's on everyone's back."

Sales Department
Milliken & Company

When you believe your company makes the very best athletic uniform fabric that money can buy, you get a little excited about it all. At least that's how our boss feels.

He wants everyone wearing Visa.® The choice of champions.

You see, it's not enough for people to know that their uniforms are built to last. Game after game. Or that the colors stay as bright as the first day they put them on.

They should know that Visa®products have been designed to keep their shape. Release stains and odors. And that they "wick" moisture to the surface for rapid evaporation. All of which makes Visa® more comfortable, and the better choice. They should know to ask for Visa® by name.

Every season millions of uniforms made from Visa® fabrics hit the playing field. And every season they perform like champions.

So you can see why our boss gets a little excited when you're talking about Visa.® He has a good reason to.

If you'd like to get in on the excitement, call us.
1-803-573-2385.

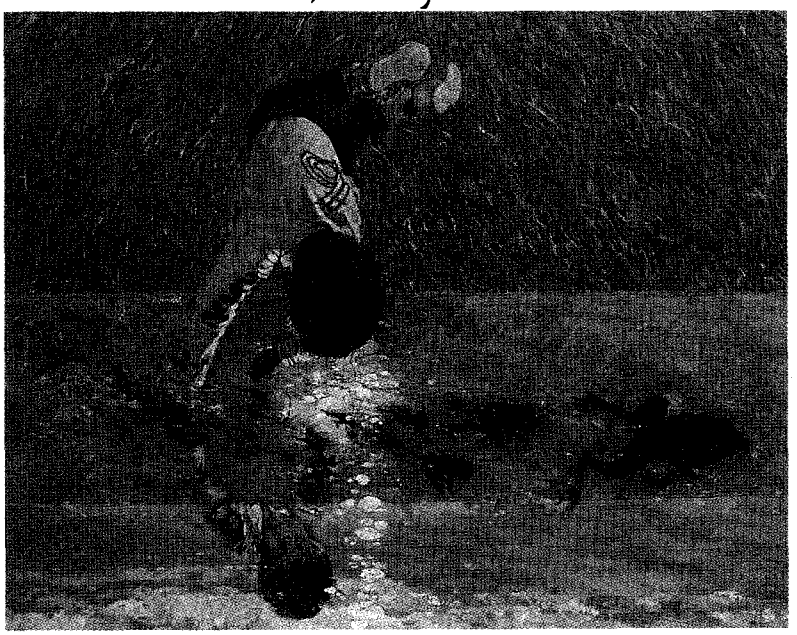
MILLIKEN

© 1990 Milliken
*VISA is a registered trademark of Milliken & Company for fabrics. *Dacron is a DuPont Registered Trademark.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As every teacher and parent inevitably discovers, there is a curious truth to curiosity: It often defies their best efforts to inspire it.

Yet, many of these same teachers and parents can



tell of magic moments when, exposed to new facts or fresh experiences, young minds awaken.

Aroused, they become eager to know all we can teach.

That's why, since 1976, we've funded and provided free-loan educational films to schools, to encourage learning. And to show where learning can lead.

Already millions of students have seen "American Enterprise," an exciting profile of U.S. economic history; "The Search for Solutions" on science and problem solving; and "The Challenge of the Unknown," covering mathematics, all in an entertaining and involving way.

We don't have all the answers for stimulating the curiosity of every young person who sees these films. But we hope to provide the new fact or fresh experience that might serve as the first step.

PHILLIPS PETROLEUM COMPANY PHILLIPS 66

To obtain these films for your local school, write to Educational Films, Phillips Petroleum Company, 16C-4PB, Bartlesville, OK 74004.

MAY 2 8

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED